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The British Cabinet Crisis of August, 1931

BY PROFESSOR WILLSON H. COATES, ROCHESTER UNIVERSITY

THE CASE FOR THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

There is one interpretation of the Cabinet crisis of August, 1931, which is likely to become crystallized into the accepted view. This version of the facts emphasizes the strength and courage of the action of Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues in forming a National Government, while it characterizes the action of Mr. Henderson and the overwhelming majority of the Labor members of Parliament as weak and partisan. In support of this view there are the extremely favorable receptions abroad of the news of the formation of a National Government and the opinions of all the powerful British newspapers except the Daily Herald. So deep is the conviction that the National Government has been fulfilling an imperative duty by the only sound methods that, in addition to the scorn of the Morning Post, which is to be expected, the Labor party has been treated with unconcealed impatience by such responsible organs as the Times or Sunday Observer for so much as presuming to create His Majesty's Opposition to a National Government. Each Labor member who has decided to support the National Government is hailed as a delinquent returned to sanity. The moderate weekly Spectator, while admitting that even an emergency government will do its work better "if it has critics at its elbow or a gadfly on its flank," took the view that this particular opposition cannot expect the sympathy accorded to honest and helpful critics.2

The case for the National Government is, indeed, a formidable one. British governments have for many years been increasing expenditure while the constant economic depression has diminished the country's resources. The country has, in the phrase now so familiar to the English public and so easily intelligible, been living beyond its means. This drift into extravagant ways has not been checked by politicians who are always shy of economies. Even the Conservative Government of 1924-29 had not dared to propose drastic reductions in the social services, while the enormous in-

ternal debt continued to be a staggering load to the taxpayer. After two years of a Labor Government which added to public expenditures, the Report of the Economy Committee,3 issued late last July, presented unpleasant facts explaining the budget deficit and proposed unpalatable remedies. The financial crisis whipped the government into feverish activity. After days of deliberation and of consultation with bankers, party leaders, and trade union officials, the Labor Cabinet split on the plan for balancing the budget, specifically on the proposals for the reduction in benefits to the unemployed. The scheme of economies which alone would maintain confidence in British credit was rejected by a portion of the Cabinet. Here was an emergency which called for heroic measures and yet the response of some Labor leaders was to go with the bulk of their party and refuse to undertake so unpleasant a task; whereas Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Snowden, and Mr. Thomas invited the odium of their followers in responding to an urgent necessity by joining with their late political enemies to save the nation from a plunge into blind inflation. That was high statesmanship in the tradition of Burke-political action dictated by events and not by theories. On Monday, August 24, the National Government was formed and pledged itself to balance the budget on a sound financial basis with equal distribution of burdens over every section of the community. Such is the outline of events which makes the case so strong for the National Government.

Causes of the Financial Crisis

No one disputes the fact that the Cabinet crisis was brought on by the financial crisis. But the causes of the financial crisis are the subject of violent controversy. To the taunt of the Labor members that the whole affair was merely a "bankers' ramp" the supporters of the National Government naturally responded with the most indignant denials. And yet, although the view of these supporters is that the Labor party ran away from its plain duty to the nation, there are those among them who are disposed to apportion some blame to the bankers for letting England drift nearly into financial catastrophe.

There is, of course, no very simple explanation for the financial crisis. It was precipitated by similar crises in Austria and in Germany, by the realization that the budget could not be balanced, and by the rev-

^{*}Professor Coates writes his account from London, where he is staying temporarily. The final vote for members of Parliament held on October 27, 1931, resulted in an overwhelming victory for the National Government. The figures of the election are: Conservatives, 476; National Liberals, 66; National Labor, 13; Independents, 2; or a total of 557. In opposition there are: Labor, 52; Lloyd George Liberals, 4; and Irish, 2, or a total of 58.—Editor.

elations of the Economy Committee. But these circumstances only revealed the real condition of England's finances, the critical nature of which was of long standing. The financial structure of England, although it has been a delicate mechanism constructed for purposes of world trade, cannot in the long run survive without prosperous English industries. The English exporting industries in particular have been adversely affected by the passing of the coal era, the development of high protectionism by some of England's best customers, and the continued fall in world prices. But the bankers did not use their influence in the best interests of a languishing English commerce when they stuck doggedly to the decision dating from the preliminary Cunliffe Report of 1918 that England must return to the gold standard at pre-war parity.

The time was considered propitious in 1925 and by the action of Mr. Churchill the return was accomplished. The pound was able to "look the dollar in the face." This pandering to British pride not only failed to receive the response from the British public that was expected by its sponsors, but the efforts to return to the gold standard, at any rate at pre-war parity, were condemned by economists like Mr. McKenna and Mr. Keynes. The Macmillan Committee, which was appointed by the Labor Government and made its report last July,4 found in the restoration to the old gold parity a major reason why British costs could not be adjusted to declining world prices. The consequence has been a steady diminution in the balance of trade favoring Britain, when all computable visible and invisible imports and exports are considered, and it is believed that this year the balance is actually unfavorable. Whether the bankers have followed in other respects an unwise financial policy is in the opinion of some economists uncertain. But there are even some Conservative writers who believe that they have borrowed short to lend long. It is maintained that, although British assets abroad exceed foreign credits in London, they have not been kept liquid enough to meet the short-term credits of foreigners and that this policy was pursued as late as the first six months of 1931.5 On the other hand, it may be said that conditions have been beyond the control of British financiers and that, granting the necessity for England to maintain the gold standard, they could not have followed any other policy in the best interests of world finance. The Macmillan Committee, in accounting for a world depression to which England is peculiarly vulnerable, has blamed the other two great creditor countries, the United States and France, for discouraging the purchase of foreign goods by high tariffs and for failing to lend money from their gold excesses except on short term loans.

EXPENDITURES FOR THE DOLE

Now all these considerations have an obvious bearing on the financial crisis and therefore on the Cabinet crisis; but certain alleged indiscretions of English banks could not alone have seriously undermined the unparalleled reputation of British credit and finance. There were certain aspects of Britain's internal fi-

nances which foreigners chose to consider as weaknesses. These were the heavy expenditures on social services and especially the contributions of the Exchequer to supplement the growing deficiencies of the unemployment insurance fund. Here is a highly debatable topic. It might be argued, for example, that the maintenance of the defense forces of Britain at their present level is no more necessary than to keep the unemployed from starvation, while the expense was as great and will be greater under the new budget. But such socialistic expedients have to suffer a great disadvantage in a world where financiers and the investing public whom they advise are not sympathetic to socialism. These social expenditures may or may not be wise, but they are disastrous in a period of financial uncertainty only if in a capitalistic world an effective public opinion, whether domestic or foreign, thinks they are reckless. Now the view was widely held in France that the English government had been indulging in grossly extravagant expenditures. It was thought that the British trade unions, which were the most powerful supporters of the Labor Government, were highly improvident6 and cared far more about maintaining the standard of living of the working classes than about the character of their work. Similarly in the United States the English methods of meeting the unemployment problem is widely believed to be unsound, and advocates of unemployment insurance in the United States are careful to emphasize that their projects would not degenerate into the dole. The prevailing belief in France and the United States that the main weakness of the English national economy lay in the method of disposing funds for an increasing army of unemployed is naturally shared most emphatically by the financiers of these countries. Additional credits to England amounting to £80,000,000 were forthcoming from Paris and New York only when it was known that the unemployment benefits would be cut by 10 per cent. Hence, even in the absence of specific documentary proof, Labor members were not moved merely by partisan suspicions when they attacked the National Government for having bowed to the dictation of foreign bankers. Some defenders of the National Government are willing to admit that foreigners by refusing credit forced a measure of retrenchment on the government, but they believe that England should not be ungrateful to foreigners for exerting such a salutary influence.7 The Earl of Iddesleigh frankly applauds foreign investors for having "proved themselves for the occasion a very effective 'Third Chamber'.'

This is the only aspect of the crisis on which the Labor party has been able to appeal to national sentiment. Otherwise their case has had all the appearance of an appeal to class interests. But if the aims of the labor movement and the history of its immediate past be taken into consideration, it will be found that the decision of the party to oppose the National Government was not merely a protest against economies which touch the pockets of so many voters. No doubt most Labor members are aware of the electoral potentialities of their opposition, but their action has more significance than a political maneuver.

DISCONTENT WITH LABOR GOVERNMENT

The Labor Government during its two years of office did not give genuine satisfaction in domestic affairs to many of its followers. No bold scheme of reorganization was developed to make Labor members feel that they were being true to their socialist ideals. There was no relaxation in their efforts to exploit capitalism for the purpose of maintaining the social services, but any really thoroughgoing socialist reforms were shelved and the foundations of the capitalist structure remained untouched. Neither the general legislation nor the budgets of the Labor Government could be sharply distinguished in character from those of the older parties.

The discontent with the official policy was evidenced in the first place by the secession of those members who formed the New Party and also by the constant unrest of the left wing. This section of Labor had freely criticized the government through the Independent Labor Party and there were frequent instances when it could not be kept subject to the discipline of the Parliamentary party. But a larger group of the members was becoming dissatisfied with the leadership of the party, although the misgivings of these members were not so openly expressed. A revealing statement giving some indication of this trend was made in the House of Commons on September 24 when Sir C. Trevelvan, in explaining his own opposition to the National Government referred to his resignation from the Labor Government. He said, "I separated from them because of my utter distrust of the tendencies which I saw growing in the minds of the three leaders, and my belief that those tendencies would lead to disaster. . . . The fact is that I trusted my colleagues who are now on this side of the House, but I saw the three leaders moving away from Labor ideals and policy, and their present performance surprises me not in its nature but in its extreme character."10

Nevertheless the Labor Government might not for some time have been embarrassed by more than the insubordination of its left wing had it not been for the Report of the Economy Committee. There is abundant evidence of the whole-hearted hostility of both the political and industrial wings of the labor movement to the recommendations of the Majority Report. The two Labor members of the Committee had strongly dissented. The labor press denounced the views of the majority as impracticable and as threatening everything for which the socialist movement stood, Mr. Hayday, the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress called the Report a "savage and ludicrous attack" on the social services. Moderate as the Trades Union Congress has usually been, it will resist with all its power any action which would result in wage reductions, any tampering with the state's provisions for the unemployed, or any shying at the use of taxation further to redress economic inequalities if the resources of the state need to be increased. A tariff, it now believes, is distinctly preferable to any reductions in the social services.

Another fundamental reason for the antagonism of the labor movement to the Economy Report is its scepticism about using economies as a method of dealing with the present depression. Not many of the labor electorate are trained in economic theory, but from speeches of Labor members of Parliament the conclusion can be drawn that the theory concerning the world depression which is most congenial to the Labor party is that there is too much money available for capital investment and that more in the hands of the poorer classes would increase consumption and have the effect of steadying production. So much money would not then be available for capital investment and the danger of overproduction would be diminished. Now the Economy Report, in effect, recommended a decrease in the purchasing power of the people not only because it advocated a direct cut in salaries and the dole but also because a general reduction in wages would inevitably follow a cut in unemployment bene-

It is true that the Economy Report was used merely as a starting point by the committee of the Labor Cabinet when it went to work on a revision of the finances during the second week of August. The economies were not to be so drastic as those recommended in the Report and the deficiency was to be made up by taxation involving equality of sacrifice. But this formula was not sufficiently reassuring to Labor members because it was difficult to equate the sacrifice necessities by the poor with the sacrifice of luxuries by the rich. And the fact remained that part of the budget deficit was to be made up by rigid economies, which, by decreasing the purchasing power at least of government employees could only have the effect of increasing unemployment and diminishing the yield of the revenue. Finally when it became known that in addition to indirect methods of reducing the dole through administrative changes there was to be a direct cut in unemployment benefits, Labor members turned against the National Government with a feeling of relief. Uncertainty about a constructive policy of a Labor Government could now be replaced by enthusiasm for the defence of the social services and the standard of living of the workers. Here was a stand that could be taken without any mental reservations. The Cabinet crisis meant for Labor the restoration of the party to its integrity.

LABOR REPUDIATES THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The repudiation by the Labor party of the leadership of Mr. MacDonald was unhesitating. The members of the former Labor Cabinet, however, found it difficult to keep their opposition to the National Government consistent with their actions while they were faced with the responsibilities of office. This was especially true of Mr. Henderson and Mr. Graham who had been members of the Cabinet Committee of Five. They had then committed themselves to the policy of heavy retrenchments for staving off a financial crash. Although they had not been pledged to any one complete scheme for balancing the budget, they were embarrassed by having to find flaws in economy proposals to most of which they had previously given their consent. It was a cruel position to be in, but it was not

cowardly or dishonest for them to attack the National Government. They had stood by their late colleagues as long as they could and then had parted company with them. Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Snowden, and Mr. Thomas felt that they were facing realities and were saving the nation without repudiating socialism. Mr. Henderson and Mr. Graham felt that they had consented to an economy programme under tremendous pressure and that they could no longer allow the panic of financiers to disperse their convictions or to obscure their better judgment.

ECONOMISTS V8. SPENDTHRIFTS

The fundamental issue that has been raised by the Cabinet crisis has not been altered by the action of the National Government in going off the gold standard on September 21. The case for the government has been somewhat weakened by its having to adopt the very course which the new budget was devised to prevent. But its supporters have taken the view that the economies are all the more necessary now to prevent a really disastrous fall in the value of sterling, and the Spectator observed that it was only because the government was pledged to sound finance that the pound took "its fall in a comparatively sober and dignified manner."

The issue remains between those who have been called, not impartially, "the economists and the spendthrifts." On the other hand, it has been described, also not impartially, as an issue between those who wish to control the banks in the public interest and those who are governed by the interests of all who fear to lose their money by socialist policy.11 It is an issue which during the last few years has been somewhat obscured by the tactics of the two main parties-the Labor party modified its official policy in the hope of winning political power, while the Tories restrained themselves from expressing too publicly their dislike of the social services. Now that the heavy expenditure on social services can very plausibly be represented as endangering the national economy, Tories can appeal on highly patriotic grounds for a reduction of these burdens. On the other hand Labor members are now aware that their moderation has not paid-that by compromising on their socialist programme they did not succeed in strengthening their political position. Now even the institutions which have served to temper capitalism are in danger of being weakened. Both parties have therefore had reason to recede from their moderate positions and have widened the breach between them. Consequently the actual conflict over economies between the National Government and the Labor party has had more nearly the appearance of a class struggle than any previous division between major parties.

The conflict might harden along these lines were there not other factors in the political situation, of which the most important is the tariff. That question does not divide English society any longer on class lines. It divides the Labor party and it breaks up the solidarity of the union of those elements which made up the National Government.¹² It therefore compli-

cates the relation between the government and the opposition. It is not intended, however, to present in this article a complete picture of the present political situation. That would involve a discussion of the tariff¹³ and other issues as well as an estimate of the influence exerted by the leading political personalities. It is sufficient to say here that the issue which the Cabinet crisis revealed has not submerged all other issues, and that whatever the tariff may do for British industries, it may yet save the nation from following too literally the predictions of Marx concerning the increasing bitterness of the class struggle.

the real cost of wages.

Among the weeklies which have been skeptical about the National Government or hostile to it from the beginning are the Week-end Review and the New Statesman and Nation.

² See the *Spectator*, September 5, 1931, p. 284. ³ This was a non-partisan committee appointed last spring and placed under the chairmanship of Sir George E. May.

⁴ This committee owed its origin in November, 1929, to the belief of many Labor members that industrial depression and unemployment could be traced to defects in the monetary and banking system. It contained eminent economists and representatives of finance, industry, labor and coöperatives, and was placed under the chairmanship of Lord Macmillan.

⁵ See the Saturday Review, September 19, 1931, p. 346; the Fortnightly Review, September 1, 1931, pp. 387, 388; the Week-end Review, August 22, 1931, p. 217.

The existence of immense savings of the British workers that are invested is not generally known.

⁷ See the *National Review*, September, 1931, p. 295 and the *Spectator*, August 29, 1931, p. 257.

⁸ The Saturday Review, September 26, 1931, p. 387.

⁹ An example of insubordination occurred during the last days of Parliament in July, when the left wing carried through to the end their opposition to the so-called "Anomalies" Bill, the contribution of the Labor Government to the abolition of some small notorious abuses in the administration of unemployment insurance benefits.

<sup>See the Times for September 25, 1931.
The New Statesman and Nation, August 29, 1931, p.</sup>

on class grounds as to the purpose of a tariff. Many trade unionists believe that it would maintain the British wage scale against foreign low wages while some Tory protectionists advocate the tariff as a subtle method of reducing

¹³ The financial crisis first had the effect of greatly encouraging the tariff advocates. In the early part of September it seemed that they had won a large majority of the country over to their view and Mr. J. L. Garvin exclaimed in the *Observer* on September 20, with a mock sorrow which scarcely concealed his exuberance, that it was "the shocking truth to say that good Queen Victoria is quite as dead as good Queen Anne." But the removal of the gold standard recalled some wayward free traders and strengthened the case for the free-trade Liberals.

Hon. George Peel writes most appreciatively of Mr. Gladstone in the September number of the Contemporary Review. He considers that the great statesman fully grasped the idea that if the European races are the most troublesome in the world, the most inflammable elements in those races exist in the south and southeast portions of our continent. To avert peril by the application of liberty in those regions was the chief international aim of Mr. Gladstone, the outstanding burden of his activity. Aside from his political career, he felt that there was in every moment of life a standing crisis of the soul, fraught with untold possibilities of evil or of good. In this crisis he considered himself to be a warrior, and indeed a chief. So that he conveyed to one the impression that at every moment of his days "life was a great and noble calling, an elevated destiny."

Farm Relief and Its Antecedents*

BY RAYNER W. KELSEY, Ph.D., PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN HAVERFORD COLLEGE

1. OPENING THE MISSISSIPPI

The Farm Relief Act of 1929 has great significance for the present and for the future. Yet to understand it thoroughly one needs to take a long look into the past, and to remember that the West has had many needs in the course of its development. In the earliest days of the republic the West wanted a trade outlet down the Mississippi River. This was the old West, beyond the Allegheny Mountains, north and south of the Ohio River. In this territory there were 600,000 settlers by the year 1800.

With few wagon roads, no railroads, and the eastern mountains untunneled, the natural outlet for western trade was down the westward flowing rivers into the Mississippi and thence to the Gulf of Mexico and the world's trade routes. The difficulty was that Spain held both banks of the Mississippi for two hundred miles from its mouth and was disposed to hamper or prohibit American trade through her territory.

This difficulty was partially met in 1795 by a treaty with Spain in which she granted grudgingly some concessions for American trade down the Mississippi. Soon afterwards Napoleon secured Louisiana from Spain, and Jefferson, in 1803, purchased the whole territory for the United States.

That was the answer to the first want of the West. Not only were the gates of the Mississippi River forever unbarred, but vast new highways were opened, beckoning the former westerners away to the prairies and plains and mountains of a newer and greater West.

2. Indian Concentration

To make the way of westward expansion smooth the next thing needed was to concentrate the Indians within small areas. This led to the adoption of the reservation plan. It was inaugurated by the United States as early as 1786, but was best exemplified by the wholesale removal of many tribes to the Indian Territory in the decade 1830-1840. "There your white brothers will not trouble you; they will have no claim to the land, and you can live upon it, and all your children, as long as the grass grows or the water runs, in peace and plenty." Such were the persuasive words of President Jackson to the Creek Indians in 1829. Other and more rigorous forms of persuasion were also used upon the Indian by his "white brothers" when the need for more farm land became pressing. The process of concentration was continued by stages during the greater part of the nineteenth century.

It was inevitable that the vast area of America

should cease to be occupied by a scattered people in the hunter stage of life. What might have been avoided was the cruelty and selfishness with which the work of Indian concentration was often done by the representatives of a nation that called itself Christian. The fair promises of President Jackson and others were often belied in practice, and the natives were led or driven along a path more rugged than ever footsore Indian followed in his native forest.

3. CHEAP LANDS

To remove the aborigines was, however, only the negative side of the land problem. The positive side was to get the white men into possession. The public land policy that accomplished the latter task was dictated largely by the needs of an expanding West.

Prior to the Civil War the western lands were sold at different times for from one to two dollars an acre. During a long period the government granted credit to the buyer for a large part of the purchase price. In 1841 a general Pre-emption Law was passed to protect law-breakers in their possessions. These were men who had outrun the Government surveyors and settled on choice lands not yet on sale. By the terms of the Pre-emption Law these "squatters" had a first option when their lands were surveyed and put up for sale.

Another boon to the West was the granting, in the period after 1850, of vast tracts of public land as a subsidy to railroad companies to hasten the building of lines into the western country. A still greater concession was made in 1862 when the Homestead Act was passed. By this law actual settlers could secure their land merely by living on it and cultivating it for three years. Since that time the national government has given away something over a hundred million acres to satisfy the land hunger of a great and growing West.

4. EASY BANKING

One issue raised by the western pioneer prior to the Civil War was especially difficult. It was the issue involved in the demand for easy banking and abundant currency.

In a frontier community, we must bear in mind, the debtor class predominates. The pioneer, the trail-maker of our national progress, has always needed capital to finance the first stages of his struggle with the wilderness. Hence the demand for easy credit, which leads to speculation, and for an inflated currency, which leads to its own debasement.

The first effort of the United States to control banking and currency was through the two United States Banks, in which the national government held stock. These banks had some steadying effect on local banks, but for that reason they roused the resentment of the

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creditor section of the West. The second United States Bank went to its death in 1836 under the attacks of that stalwart western warrior, Andrew Jackson.

The local banks, chartered by the States, often led a free and easy life in the early period. They were not under strict supervision, especially those in the West. Their charters were often granted as political rewards, and were loosely drawn in order to allow latitude in loans and other operations. These banks knew that the West wanted easy credit, and they were disposed to grant it. They also poured forth, on occasion, a generous stream of bank-notes which often hurried along the broad way that leads to depreciation.

Cheap money and speculation in western lands were the chief causes of a terrible financial panic in 1837. After that tragic experience banking and governmentfinance were gradually put on a better basis. The government took refuge in its Independent Treasury system, still in use, by which it handles its surplus money in its own repositories. The local banks were gradually put under stricter supervision by the States, though loose methods were still countenanced for decades in some parts of the country. Then in 1863 the National Banks Act strengthened the banking business of the whole country. Instead of owning bank stock, as in the case of the earlier United States Banks, the Government now assumed a supervision over the "national" banks to be organized under the Act. As a result the local banks also raised their standards in order to retain the confidence of their patrons. Finally, in 1913, the banking business of the whole country was made still stronger and more serviceable through the establishment of the Federal Reserve system.

Yet it is not correct to conclude that the early financial panics and business depressions were caused entirely by loose banking and inflated currency. Such breakdowns come from complicated causes, and have recurred since the banking business was on a better basis. But one of the surest causes of such disturbances is credit inflation and currency expansion. These phenomena were abundantly present in the early period, and the demand for easy banking is to be listed on the debit side of the wants of the West.

5. GREENBACKERS

While the National Banks Act of 1863 aided the banking business of the whole country, a new currency problem arose at nearly the same moment. In the stress of the Civil War the national government itself went into the inflation business by issuing legal-tender green-backs that were not redeemable in gold or silver. There were \$433,000,000 worth (face value) of these in circulation at the close of the war. By the immutable laws of finance this paper money soon became depreciated, in defiance of the figures arrayed on its face.

After the war the government began gradually to withdraw this depreciated currency from circulation. Then the debtor class took alarm, and a new inflation movement took shape which found its greatest support in the agricultural West. If the value of "dollars" should be raised from sixty cents to par by the contraction of the currency or by the resumption of specie

payment, the debtor would practically have his debt increased in the same proportion. Likewise, as the amount of money in circulation decreased, the value of all the farmer's produce, measured in money, would fall. The West did not propose to have that happen without a fight. So the greenback forces mustered for battle.

The creed of the inflationists was crystallized for a time in the so-called "Ohio Idea." This was that all Government bonds not specifying coin as the medium of payment should be paid, with accrued interest, in greenbacks. Thus the legal-tender paper would be retained as permanent currency, and increased in volume. It was hoped in this way to ease the debtor's burden, avoid a price slump, and pay off part of the war debt by the printing-press route. "Inflate the currency, and you raise the price of my steers and at the same time pay the public debt." So declared Solon Chase, a prominent greenbacker of Maine—and "them steers" followed him through some years of political activity.

Through the vicissitudes of congressional debates and several political campaigns the greenback movement took its pilgrim journey. Its greatest practical victory was in 1868. In that year Congress felt the pressure of inflationist sentiment so clearly that it prohibited the further retirement of the greenbacks. During the dark days of the panic of 1873 the Secretary of the Treasury even reissued a few millions that had previously been called in. The next year Congress passed a bill authorizing a further reissue, but President Grant vetoed this "inflation bill" with genuine soldierly courage.

The greenbackers nearly captured the Democratic party in 1868. At other times they affiliated with the labor groups of the time. In the hard years following the panic of 1873 the movement spread, and in 1878 it was at its height politically. Times were terribly bad in the farming sections, and acute labor troubles added to the unrest. In that year the Greenback-Labor party polled more than a million votes and elected fourteen congressmen.

Yet the day of dissolution was at hand. Congress had already provided for the resumption of specie payment, and it was accomplished according to schedule in 1879. The greenbacks went back to par two weeks before the day appointed for resumption, and Horace Greeley was vindicated in his pronouncement that "the way to resume is to resume."

The greenback movement gradually dwindled in importance until its remnants joined the free silver cohorts, to be described later. The Civil War greenbacks are still a part of our currency, carried along easily at par by the credit of the government because they form such a small part of the total volume of money. All students of finance are agreed, however, that our government turned away from a dangerous by-path when it refused to increase indefinitely the volume of this "fiat" money. The vision of German marks and Russian roubles in the period after the World War should make Americans rejoice that their government, in the day of its testing, drew back from that slippery slide.

6. Grangers

The "granger" movement ran along concurrently with the greenback agitation for several years, and in the popular mind the two were sometimes confused. Naturally so, for the members of the granges were usually strong supporters of the greenback doctrine. Yet the granger movement had an identity of its own.

The word "grange" came from the same root as "grain" and "granary." In France today it means a barn, and in England a farm establishment, including the buildings. The national organization called the "Grange" was established in the United States in 1867, and its full name was "The National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry." The purpose of the order was to promote the social and educational betterment of country communities, advance cooperative enterprise among farmers, and in general foster the interests of agriculture. The society is still a real force in rural life, with state granges in a majority of the States and with a paid-up membership of more than half a million.

Among the many political and economic causes espoused by the granger group the most important was the movement for the government regulation of railroads. The western railroads had opened the way to new farm lands and provided transportation for agricultural products. These boons the farmers welcomed with open arms, and with subscriptions to railroad

After the crash of 1873 the situation was changed. Railroads failed, reorganized, merged, watered their stock, and raised freight charges to make dividends possible. Farmers who had mortgaged their land to buy railroad stock often saw their holdings wiped out. Taxes soared upward because townships had plunged and lost on railroad investments. Crop profits were ground to nothing between the millstones of high freight rates and poor markets. "When the Iowa farmer was obliged to burn corn for fuel, because at fifteen cents a bushel it was cheaper than coal, though at the same time it was selling for a dollar in the East, he felt that there was something wrong." So the farmers declared war on the railroads, and the central war zone was in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.

The regulation of railroads by state law, administered by state commissions, was the general result of the anti-railroad agitation of the grangers. The legal question was focussed in the attempt to fix maximum rates for passenger and freight traffic. Many regulative laws were passed, and nearly as many legal battles fought out in the higher courts. The railroads declared that the fixing of rates deprived them of their property without due process of law, and hence violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The United States Supreme Court did not sustain this contention, but held that, as the railroads were engaged in a business upon which the public welfare was dependent, there must be some legislative means to protect the public from extortion. In subsequent cases, however, it was held that a reasonable rate of profit must not be denied the railroads.

The granger influence helped to secure the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, which applied the prin-

ciple of railroad regulation on a national scale. It also promoted pure food legislation in state and nation, and various progressive reforms for the help of the farmer in more recent times. Yet the flood tide of the granger movement as a political force was in the seventies. The ebb continued during the next decade until the lowering clouds of hard times again darkened the farmer's skies.

7. FREE SILVER

The end of the greenback agitation overlapped the beginning of that for free silver. The National (or Greenback-Labor) party in 1878 denounced the demonetization of silver, and from that time forward the cause of free silver was espoused more or less ardently, as prosperity waned or waxed, by the grangers and greenbackers, the silver-mining interests of the West, and by the cheap-money advocates in all sections of the country.

Very little silver had been in circulation for about forty years prior to 1870. This was partly because, in 1834, the standard value-ratio between gold and silver had been fixed at 16 to 1. Yet silver was actually worth more than one-sixteenth of gold (by weight) in the world's market. Hence the mint ratio undervalued silver and made it unprofitable to coin it. Moreover, after the suspension of specie payment early in the Civil War there was practically no metallic money of any kind in circulation. As a result of this experience Congress, in 1873, dropped the silver dollar from the list of standard coins. As it turned out, silver began about the same time to fall in value, as compared with gold, in the world's market. Soon silver was overvalued by the standard ratio of 16 to 1, and would bring more if coined into money than in any other way. So the silvermining interests marched to Armageddon and battled for the remonetization of silver, and found zealous allies in all those who believed that more money meant more prosperity.

There soon came to birth, in both the Republican and the Democratic parties, a strong movement for the remonetization of silver and for its free and unlimited coinage at the old ratio of 16 to 1. The former end was accomplished in 1878 by the Bland-Allison Act, but the amount of silver to be purchased and coined by the government was strictly limited. In 1890 the Silver Purchase Act largely increased the amount of silver to be purchased, and provided for the issuance of full legal-tender treasury notes in payment for it. When the panic of 1893 came on, President Cleveland demanded and secured the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act, thus winning the undying hatred of the silver wing of his party. One of the anomalies of our political history is this, that the extravagant Silver Purchase Act of 1890 was passed by a Republican Congress, and repealed at the behest of a Democratic President, just on the eve of the final battle between the Gold-Republicans and the Silver-Democrats.

Low prices and poor crops in widespread farming areas gave rise, about 1890, to the People's (or Populist) party. The Populists, as they were commonly called, proposed to cure the farmer's ills by providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio

of 16 to 1. More to the point, their candidate, James B. Weaver, polled over a million votes on that platform in 1892, and thus tempted the Democratic party, four years later, to play cannibal to both the new issue and

the new party.

William Jennings Bryan, "the boy orator of the Platte," just turning thirty-six years of age, won the Democratic nomination in 1896 by the dramatic peroration of his speech at the Democratic National Convention: "We shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." An eastern newspaper might denounce him as "a wretched rattlepated boy . . . mouthing resounding nothingness," but to millions of Americans he preached a gospel as saving and as orthodox as his later declamations against evolution.

With the astute strategy of Mark Hanna and the genial leadership of McKinley the Republicans marched to victory in 1896, despite the fact that their standard-bearer himself had formerly flirted openly with free silver. By the Currency Act of 1900 a Republican Congress established the gold dollar as the standard of value, although silver was retained as subsidiary currency, just as the greenbacks had been retained formerly. The Democrats and Bryan lost again on the free-silver issue in 1900. Bumper crops in the West dulled the fighting edge of the farmers. A rapid increase in the world's supply of gold brought prices up, and eventually changed the crusade against low prices into one against the high cost of living.

Unstinted greenbacks and the unlimited coinage of silver were checked near the fountain head, and the passing years have convinced thoughtful people that the decision of the majority was sound. The successive agitations were merely reappearances of the cheapmoney will-o'-the-wisp that has allured the debtor and the frontiersman again and again throughout Ameri-

can history.

8. THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

Early in the twentieth century a storm center of rural agitation began forming in North Dakota. The farmers of that State were roused by the unfair methods of grading and marketing their grain, as practiced by the big grain elevators. After some years of agitation and some amending of the State constitution, provision was made in 1914 for a State-owned terminal

grain elevator.

The next year the farmers of North Dakota began to organize themselves politically in the Non-Partisan League. Despite its name this organization was actually a new farmers' party. It spread somewhat to neighboring States in succeeding years, but its stronghold continued to be the State of its birth. The chief planks in the party platform were State-aid in the grading and marketing of crops, State hail insurance, rural credit banks operated at cost, and exemption of farm improvements from taxation.

Gradually the new party began to get control of North Dakota and to put its principles into practice.

The high tide of the movement came in 1918, when the League won the governorship and both branches of the State legislature. Various State-operated enterprises were then launched, culminating in the State Bank of North Dakota. This bank was owned and operated by the State, and it guaranteed all deposits and also all bonds that were handled by the State.

A conservative reaction set in about 1920, coincident with the general financial stringency in the nation and the sweeping triumph of the Republicans under Harding. In 1921 the conservatives in North Dakota used the progressive weapon of "recall" to oust the governor, the attorney-general, and several other important officials who had been elected under the auspices of the Non-Partisan League. At the same election, however, the attempt to overthrow the social program of the League was defeated. Almost all of the State-operated enterprises continued to function.

9. THE FARM BLOC

When the Non-Partisan League began to decline, about 1920, a wider movement of unrest showed itself in the farming States of the West. The geographical center of this new disturbance lay so near the former home of Grangers, Green-backers, and Populists that some conservative editors saw little in the new movement but a revival of old heresies. Impartial students of social phenomena, on the contrary, leaned toward the belief that some deep-seated ailment was causing a succession of similar disorders.

That the period of post-war readjustment brought hard times to the farmers it would be futile to deny. During the financial stringency of 1920 the war prices of farm products suffered a great and unexpectedly sudden decline. The crops of that year had been planted on the basis of the former cost of machinery, seed, fertilizer, and labor. In many cases land for enlarged crops had been bought at prices three or four times its normal value. When the crops were harvested their selling price was less than the cost of production. The profit on investment, always modest in agriculture, sank well below the zero point; and, correspondingly, the number of farm bankruptcies rose.

As a result of the distress various farmers' organizations, such as the Wheat Growers' Association, the American Cotton Association, and the American Farm Bureau Federation, took up the cudgels of political battle. They secured the coöperation of certain senators and representatives, mostly from the West, but of both political parties. This group in Congress, which became active in the spring of 1921, was called the "farm bloe," and it soon came to hold the balance of

power between the two old parties.

As a result of the agitation in Washington and over the country, several acts for farm relief were passed by Congress in 1921 and the following years. The War Finance Corporation was revived and supplied with funds to assist in the exportation of farm products. The capacity of the Federal Land Banks to lend money on farm mortgages was enlarged. An Agricultural Credits Act made it possible for farmers to borrow on livestock and farm products en route to market. A Grain Futures Act was passed to prevent improper speculation in grain sold on the exchanges for future delivery. A Packers and Stockyards Act empowered the Secretary of Agriculture to correct price manipulation and various unfair practices on the part of stockyards, packing houses, and commission merchants. The tariff acts of 1921 and 1922 attempted to pass on to the farmer the benefits of protection. A new seat was created in the Federal Reserve Board for a farmer member. Such were some of the legislative expedients tried, and this bare enumeration of them suggests perhaps that the farmer's cause was not without a hearing.

Yet the farmer's problem was far from being solved. In spite of local and temporary improvements the general situation in the agricultural West remained a cause for grave concern. In 1924, although the value of the harvest was about three billion dollars more than in 1921, the average return for the farmers was only 3.8 per cent on their investment. Those whose return fell too far below this average left their farms by choice or by the compulsion of foreclosures. Hence the agitation for farm relief was little abated.

10. McNary-Haugenism

In the spring of 1924 there was introduced into Congress a bill which soon became a focussing point for discussions of farm relief. This was the McNary-Haugen bill, so named from Senator McNary of Oregon and Representative Haugen of Iowa, its sponsors. The central purpose of this bill was to keep the prices of farm products up to a level that would insure a fair profit to the farmers.

To understand this bill it is necessary to remember that one great problem of agriculture is the problem of the surplus crop. Because of insect pests and uncertain weather conditions farmers cannot tell in advance just how much they can produce. Hence they tend to raise as large crops as possible, and, when conditions are favorable, the result is a surplus in a given country and perhaps in the world. Any such surplus in the United States, for example, must be shipped abroad and sold for what it will bring in the world market. Most serious of all is the fact that the export price ordinarily fixes the price also in the home market. Hence, if the world market is low and the farmers of the United States have a large crop, they may get so little for it as to suffer a great loss. Moreover, even though a high tariff may protect the farmers from the importation of foreign produce, it cannot protect them from the tragic combination of a domestic surplus and a low price in the world market.

By the terms of the McNary-Haugen bill there was to be created an Agricultural Export Commission, financed by the federal government and empowered to buy up certain farm products at a price that would guarantee a fair profit to the farmer. If there was a surplus of any product it was to be sold abroad for what it would bring, and the loss on such sale, if any, was to be charged back on the farmers who produced that particular product. Since the export surplus was usually a minor part of the total product, it was believed that the farmers could well afford to pay the ex-

port loss in order to bolster up the domestic price. The charge paid by the farmers to cover the export loss was to be called an "equalization fee."

The McNary-Haugen bill of 1924 did not pass Congress, but its central features, the equalization fee and the attempt to control prices artificially through a government agency, later became the crux of the whole problem of farm relief.

The issue of "McNary-Haugenism" would not be clarified by cataloguing here the various bills for farm relief presented in Congress during the years 1925 to 1928. There were many of them, some sponsored by official farm agencies, and some by spokesmen representing the more conservative views of President Coolidge and his advisers. Most of these bills did not pass Congress, but a McNary-Haugen bill of 1927 did pass and was vetoed by President Coolidge.

In his veto message the President criticized the measure from many angles, and objected especially to the fact that it was "essentially a price-fixing bill." This fact, he declared, would lead the farmers to increase the more profitable crops by "one-crop farming" until the disposal of the surplus would become an impossible task; meanwhile, the price of basic food and materials would be raised to all classes in order to benefit the one class that raised the products; "Government price-fixing, once started, has alike no justice and no end. It is an economic folly from which this country has every right to be spared."

In reply to the President a farm-relief advocate delivered the following broadside: "The most gigantic price-fixing measure ever sanctioned by law is the tariff for manufacturers, which substantially fixes the domestic price at the world price plus the tariff rates. Yet Mr. Coolidge is the staunchest of supporters of that price-fixing by government, which is the cause of the disparity between the value of the farm dollar and the dollars that transportation, commerce, and labor get. Farmers recognize this."

Congress passed another McNary-Haugen bill in 1928, and again the President vetoed the measure. This time the veto message summarized the "weaknesses and perils" of the bill under six headings:

- I. Its attempted price-fixing fallacy.
- II. The tax characteristics of the equalization fee.
- III. The widespread bureaucracy which it would set up.
- IV. Its encouragement to profiteering and wasteful distribution by middlemen.
 - V. Its stimulation of overproduction.
- VI. Its aid to our foreign agricultural competitors.

In connection with the second objection in the list it should be stated that the "equalization fee" was to be levied proportionately against the entire production of every commodity which the government helped to market. Thus, as in the earlier McNary-Haugen bills, the farmers were not to be a permanent burden on the Treasury of the United States, but were to pay ultimately for the help they received.

President Coolidge had objected to the equalization

fee in the bill of 1927, and he elaborated his objections in his veto of the bill of 1928 as follows:

The equalization fee, which is the kernel of this legislation, is a sales tax upon the entire community. It is in no sense a mere contribution to be made by the producers themselves, as has been represented by supporters of the measure. It can be assessed upon the commodities in transit to the consumer, and its burden can often unmistakably be passed on to him.

Furthermore, such a procedure would certainly involve an extraordinary relinquishment of the taxing power on the part of Congress, because the tax would not only be levied without recourse to legislative authority, but its proceeds would be expended entirely without the usual safeguards of congressional control of appropriations. This would be a most dangerous nullification of one of the essential checks and balances which lie at the very foundation of our Government.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the equalization fee, Congress failed again to pass the McNary-Haugen bill over the President's veto. Yet the general issue of farm relief and the particular question of the equalization fee were guaranteed a hearing in the presidential campaign of 1928.

In that campaign the platforms of both major parties were broad in their expressions of sympathy for the farmer. Each one catalogued and analyzed agricultural needs. Each one set forth remedies for present and future ills. Both parties and both candidates promised governmental aid for the coöperative marketing of farm products. The Republicans rejected the equalization fee, while the Democrats gave it a qualified approval. Near the close of the campaign Mr. Hoover stated that if the session of Congress ending March 4, 1929, failed to pass a suitable farm relief measure, he would call a special session for that purpose.

In November, 1928, Herbert Hoover was elected President by the overwhelming majority of 444 to 87 in the electoral college. He received the vote of several southern States, and of every northern State except Massachusetts and Rhode Island. His sweep thus included the whole farming section west of the Mississippi River, where McNary-Haugenism had been strongest. The farmers apparently felt that their needs would be better understood by the Iowa farm boy than by one who hailed from "the sidewalks of New York."

In December, 1928, the Seventieth Congress met for its final session with a calendar so full that there was no room for considering adequately the problem of farm relief. President Hoover, therefore, soon after his inauguration, called the Seventy-first Congress to meet on April 15, 1929, in special session to deal with the tariff and the farm problem. One campaign pledge was thus redeemed.

11. EXPORT DEBENTURES

Since President Hoover was clearly pledged against the equalization fee, little was heard of that proposal after his election. Another device was brought forward, however, to help the farmers market their surplus crops abroad. It was called "export debentures," and it became the chief bone of contention between the Senate and the House of Representatives in the debates that led up to the Farm Relief Act of 1929.

A debenture is a promise to pay. An export deben-

ture, as proposed in the Senate bill for farm relief, was a promise by the government to pay a stated amount to the exporters of certain farm products. Payment was to be made in certificates good for the payment of customs duties. Such certificates would be about the same as cash, because they could be sold, perhaps at a slight discount, to importers of various products, who would use them at the Custom Houses for the payment of duties.

The amount of the export debenture in the case of most farm products was to be one-half of the import duty on the same product. For example, the impost (or tariff) on wheat was 42 cents. Hence, for every bushel of wheat exported the government would give a debenture certificate of 21 cents. At the same time the tariff on wheat was to be raised high enough to prevent reimportation. Thus the price of export wheat was to be raised and the domestic price would go up to the same level.

President Hoover promptly took his stand against the debenture proposal, just as President Coolidge had done against the equalization fee. In a letter to the sponsors of the plan in the Senate he made the following points: the increased price, if any were brought about, would probably be absorbed largely by middlemen and exporters; if any of it did trickle through to the farmers, it would result in stimulating overproduction; the scheme would put America at a disadvantage because her competitors abroad would be supplied with foods and raw materials at lower prices than those obtaining in the United States; hence, many tariff schedules would have to be raised to safeguard American industry; the issue of the proposed debentures would be a vast drain on the Treasury by depriving it of the usual amount of tariff revenue; this would constitute a gigantic gift by the general public to a special class and would necessitate an immediate increase of taxation.

To these views of President Hoover there was some vigorous opposition. One magazine printed a "deadly parallel" to show that all of the President's objections to export debentures would apply also to protective tariffs. Louis J. Taber, head of the National Grange, particularized this argument in the following statement:

Opponents of the export debenture plan usually base their opposition on the plea that it is a subsidy. The plan is no more a subsidy than is the protective tariff. The very purpose of our protective tariff is to prevent foreign low-cost goods from coming into the United States. By this means large quantities of dutiable goods are kept out and hundreds of millions of dollars in duties are prevented from entering our treasury. For instance, when the duty on aluminum was more than quadrupled in September 1922, the value of imports dropped from an average of about \$2,000,000 for the preceding three years to an average of \$514,000 for the succeeding four years, and the net loss in tariffs collected for three years on aluminum hollow-ware alone was \$391,000. This protection results in great benefits to manufacturers and their employees and the cost of this protection is borne by consumers of these articles; that is, by the general public.

Yet President Hoover had his way. The House of Representatives supported him strongly and refused to yield to the Senate. Hence, the Farm Relief bill was finally passed in June 1929, without the provision for export debentures. The exponents of that plan had to content themselves with threatening to attach the provision later to the tariff bill.

12. FARM RELIEF ACT OF 1929

The general purpose of the Farm Relief Act of 1929 was to help the farmers help themselves. In other words, the Government proposed to foster the coöperative organization of the farmers so that they themselves could promote the effective merchandising of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce, minimize speculation, and prevent or control surpluses.

By the terms of the act a Federal Farm Board of nine members was to be appointed, including the Secretary of Agriculture. The several members were to represent as far as possible the major agricultural products of the United States. Advisory committees, such as the "Cotton Advisory Committee," were also to be formed and called into conference occasionally by the general Board.

Farmers' Coöperative Associations already in existence were to be aided, and new ones formed. Such associations could unite into Stabilization Associations or, by admitting independent dealers and operators into their organization, could form Clearing House Associations. The purpose of these Stabilization Corporations and Clearing House Associations was to carry on large-scale operations in the storing, processing, and marketing of farm products.

A revolving fund of \$500,000,000 was provided, from which the Farm Board could make loans to the various coöperative organizations. These loans were to be used for the lease, purchase, or construction of grain elevators, warehouses, mills, and other plants for the handling, storage, processing, and selling of farm products.

As to surpluses and price fluctuations, it was hoped that these could be controlled to some degree by the storage and credit facilities of the coöperative agencies. If any farm product threatened to glut the market, it would be withheld for a time from the market. On the other hand, the act made it illegal to withhold any commodity if the price of it became unduly enhanced.

It was hoped, moreover, that through improved cooperative organization the farmers could be induced to avoid overproduction and thus "control the surplus by preventing it." This essential point was emphasized by the Secretary of Agriculture soon after the Farm Relief Act was passed, and was reiterated by President Hoover in his address to the Federal Farm Board at its first meeting, July 15, 1929.

Will the Farm Relief Act relieve the farmers? This question can be answered only in the light of experience. At present one can merely assess the general features of the act. Undoubtedly the government has done the conservative thing. It has refused any direct subsidy to the farmers and any direct intervention for the control of prices. It has offered only to help the farmers unite for their own protection, for the avoidance of waste in speculation and in middlemen's

profits, and for the "orderly production and distribution" of their crops.

Are there dangers and weaknesses in the plan? Will the loans ultimately be made on the basis of political patronage? Will many of the loans remain unpaid and thus the "revolving fund" cease to revolve? Will the temporary withholding of surpluses from the market be a basic cure for fluctuating prices? Or will the farmers insist upon progressive overproduction, once they think a profit is assured? Then will the surplus of crops grow steadily greater until the whole structure topples of its own weight?

These questions are put not to suggest possibilities of disaster, but merely to point out the difficulties of the problem. Any attempt to regulate the intricate mechanism of a vast economic enterprise involves difficulties and dangers. Any governmental project on a large scale runs the gauntlet of political patronage and does not always emerge unseathed. No scheme of coöperative effort can succeed unless the interested people are of a mind to coöperate. Certainly the federal government has taken a great step forward in the direction of farm relief. It has gone its full half of the way to help the farmers help themselves.

13. Conclusion

The present farm relief problem appears, in the light of this narrative, merely as the latest of many questions that have arisen from similar causes. The West, in its day, has gone in quest of things good and bad. Over against the heresies of bad banking, paper money, and free silver, which must be charged as debits on the record, stand important credit entries. The opening of the Mississippi River, the concentration of the Indian tribes, the rapid exploitation of the public domain, the government-subsidized western railroads, the whole round of eager expansion that wrought the conquest of a continent—these things seem good today in the eyes of most Americans. And there are other good things to be mentioned. The State and national regulation of railroads, the income tax, the establishment of a postal-savings system, the direct primary, the direct election of United States Senators, and woman's suffrage-these and other reforms that are now crystallized in statute law or Constitution came out of the West. Many of them were once lonely squatters in the despised wigwams of Greenbackers, Populists, and Bryan Democrats.

The West, some critics say, has been sectional and provincial. Yes, and it has been equalled, perhaps, in those qualities only by the North and the South. New England struggled to save her commerce, the Middle States to promote their manufactures, and the South to preserve slavery. The manufacturing sections, which have fought so valiantly and victoriously for a protective tariff, can scarcely chide the agricultural West for turning to the government as an ever-present help in time of trouble. Sectionalism has been such a constant factor in the making of America that it is inappropriate for any part of the country to charge another part with that sin.

In the light of history the West cannot carp at the

older sections if they look long and carefully before leaping into new experiments in paternalistic government. Likewise, in the light of history the older sections, in times of agricultural distress and tragedy, should always lend a sympathetic ear to the cry of the great West.

14. SPECIAL NOTE

In the debate of 1929 concerning farm relief, T. H. Caraway, United States Senator from Arkansas, Democrat, made the following statement favoring export debentures:

This farm debenture plan, according to the experts from the Department of Agriculture who came before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, could possibly cost, though nobody believes it would cost, \$146,000,000 annually. Of course, that is below \$200,000,000. And there is not a line of evidence anywhere to support that assertion, that the cost would be \$200,000,000 annually. The experts who figured this out for the President were before the Committee and they said the possible outside cost was \$146,000,000. That assumed that every bushel of wheat, every pound of meat, every bale of cotton that went abroad from this time on would receive the benefits of the debenture plan, which was never proposed by anybody, because the plan is to become effective upon any product when the price is

One hundred and forty-six million dollars is an unthinkable gift to 25,000,000 of the American public, and yet the so-called tariff bill, which is just as much a subsidy as this would be, according to the experts, presented to the manufacturers of this country nearly \$4,000,000,000 annually. That is right, and this is wrong! The President called into extraordinary session a Congress to raise the prices of manufactured products still higher and give the manufacturers a still greater subsidy, but objects to a pitiful \$146,000,000 to 25,000,000 of the American public, the farmers.

In the debate of 1929 concerning farm relief, Arthur M. Hyde, Secretary of Agriculture, presented figures to show that in several foreign countries the issuance of export debentures had resulted in an increase of production. Applying this lesson to agriculture in the United States, he said:

As a consequence of the operation of the debenture plan, there would be a tendency in farming to shift from many lines of production toward the production of debenturable commodities, especially those with a short production cycle -grain and cotton, for example—the acreage of which could be increased greatly from one year to the next in the expectation of realizing quickly the benefits of the debenture. This would at least temporarily disturb established production programs. Furthermore, should the support of prices provided through this plan be removed, the debenture commodities would be left in an overstimulated condition, and agriculture would stand to suffer accordingly.

Speaking before the National Educational Association at Atlanta, Georgia, July 4, 1929, Secretary Hyde made the following statement concerning production and distribution in American agriculture:

On the production side of his business, the American farmer has fully kept pace with the progress of industry. He is the most efficient farmer in the world. In numbers he is one-twentieth of the world's farmers, but he produces twothirds of the world's corn, three-fifths of the world's cotton, one-half of its tobacco, one-third of its hogs, one-third of its poultry, one-fourth of its oats, one-fifth of its wheat, one-seventh of its cattle, and one-tenth of its sheep. His other contributions, while small in percentage of the world's totals, yet bulk large in the feeding of his own nation.

The distribution of farm products is, to a large extent,

wasteful and inefficient. The faults of the system of farm marketing, if system it can be called, cannot be blamed upon anybody in particular. Like Topsy, it "just growed." What chance of success would the manufacturer of automobiles, or of cash registers, or of any other industrial product have, if their output had to sell at the factory door to the best bidder, or had to pass through many middlemen before it reached the consumer. And yet, with some striking exceptions, this is exactly what happens to farm products. It is trite, but true, that the farmer sells in a market over which he has little control and in which his voice is seldom heard.

15. Topics for Discussion

It is good practice in any discussion to change sides occasionally. There are two sides to every great ques-

Is it true that Congress has neglected the needs of the farmers in recent years?

The "farm bloc" in Congress attempted to secure special favors for a particular class. Is such a group to be condemned as seeking "class legislation"?

Can the tariff solve the farmers' price problem? Was President Coolidge right in vetoing the Mc-Nary-Haugen bill of 1927 because it was a price-fixing bill?

Is President Coolidge's argument against the "equalization fee" convincing?

Which side of the argument on "export debentures" is the more convincing?

Does the Farm Relief Act of 1929 promise real relief to the farmers?

Do you attach great importance to the plan for the cooperative marketing of farm products?

16. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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For bringing the topic of this Handbook down to date.

For daily developments the newspapers, including editorials, are of course the chief source of information. The daily edition of the Congressional record contains the current discussions in Congress. The United States daily, Washington, D.C., is especially valuable because of its daily Summary of contents and its Weekly index.

For events several months old, besides the indexes mentioned above, see the quarterly Index of the New York Times. For references to magazine articles see the Readers' guide to periodical literature and other reference indexes

published by the H. W. Wilson Company, New York City. For developments of a preceding year there are various annuals, year books, and supplements to encyclopedias. The American year book is the best annual for political developments in the United States. The World almanae (50 cents) is a book which the smallest library can afford, and the largest library cannot afford to be without. It contains valuable statistics and much condensed information on many public questions.

For new books, published later than this Handbook, see the Cumulative book index and the United States catalog. The Book review digest is still more valuable, but of course the new books appear a little later in it-after they have been reviewed in various magazines.

18. DISCUSSION MATERIALS

Of course the first requisite for intelligent discussion is a knowledge of the facts, as found in this Handbook and in the books and periodicals listed above.

There are also condensed arguments on both sides of many great questions in the textbooks on "problems of democracy," such as Baker-Crothers and Hudnut, Berry Burch and Patterson, Fairchild, Greenan and Meredith, Hughes, Morehouse and Graham, Munro, and Wil-

Debaters' handbooks and annuals, and various other compendiums on current problems are also available. to the H. W. Wilson Company for their latest list of such publications.

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An Experiment in Teaching History Backward

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This article is the outgrowth of an investigation designed to test the merits of a plan of teaching history which has been proposed in certain quarters, and which involves beginning with the past and coming down to the present time. The subject was American History in the junior high school.

The investigation was in the nature of an experiment in which one class was taught by the usual forward method and the other class by the backward method. Effort was made to equate the students as to all factors that would affect the outcome of the work, in order that any differences in results achieved might be rightly ascribed to differences in the effectiveness of the methods employed.

The total time for the experiment was twelve weeks and this time was divided into two periods of six weeks each. Group I used the backward method for the first six weeks while Group II used the forward method, and then the procedures were reversed for the second period, thus rotating out any differences that may have existed between the groups or between the difficulty of the material studied.

The same test was given to each class at the end of each period to measure immediate results, and another test was given to both groups two months after the close of the experiment in order to measure retention or permanency of results. The tests were both of the new-type objective sort and also the essay sort. The essay papers were scored by another teacher who did not know about the experiment, in order to avoid the element of prejudice in marking papers.

The nature of the lesson materials for the experiment should be described more fully. During the first six weeks the topic was transportation; during the

TABLE I RESULTS OF THE EXPERIMENTS COMPARING THE FORWARD AND BACKWARD METHODS OF TEACHING HISTORY

Test	Method	Average for Class I	Average for Class II	Total	Difference favor- ing backward methcd	Chances that the difference is real*
Immediate	Backward	38.18	35.53	73.71		
	Forward	34.97	31.41	66.38	7.33	480,000 to 1
Retention	Backward	36.49	36.56	73.05		
44	Forward	35.66	34.38	70.04	3.01	62 to 1

* This column is derived statistically by comparing the difference with its standard error and referring to the necessary tables for the corresponding statement of chances. Space forbids including the detailed data for this process in this article.

second six weeks it was communication. The backward method was employed in teaching transportation by having the students read the newspaper accounts of the effort made by Brock and Schlee of the United States Navy to break the world's endurance record in the air. In other words, the beginning on the topic of transportation was made in connection with the subject of aviation. This, of course, led back to Charles Lindbergh, who had participated in the air races at Los Angeles, and led further back to Darius Green and his flying machine and eventually back to the beginnings of the horseless carriage, the iron horse, the ox cart, the covered wagon, the steamboat, and Columbus's voyage of discovery in 1492. A similar approach was made in the second period of the experiment, which dealt with communication. The class began with television and the transmission of photographs, worked back to Marconi, Alexander Graham Bell, the laying of the trans-Atlantic cable, the invention of the telegraph, the origin of postal services, newspapers, and so on reaching eventually back to Benjamin Franklin and his printing press.

The forward method covered the same material as the backward method, employed the same reference material, and sought to hold students responsible for knowledge of the same essential elements in the topics that were taught. The only difference was that the outline of topics was taken up in the order in which the events actually happened, beginning with Columbus or Benjamin Franklin and working down to the present time according to the chronological se-

quence of history.

RESULTS

Table I presents a condensed summary of results of the experiment, bringing out a comparison of the effectiveness of the methods in terms of immediate results at the end of the experiment and also in terms of retention results based on the test given two months after the close of the experiment. The important thing about the table is that the results are favorable to the backward method throughout and overwhelmingly so as far as the immediate results are concerned. The statement of chances, 480,000 to 1, indicates that if this experiment were repeated an infinite number of times under similar conditions in all particulars, there would continue to be an advantage in favor of the backward method of approach. The test for retention two months after the close of the experiment does not give nearly so great an advantage to the backward

method and the chances are only 62 to 1 that further experimentation would continue to favor this approach.

It is natural for the difference to be less in case of the retention test than in the case of the immediate test in any such experiment as this because the results of the experiment itself are mixed with the influences of various other factors as time goes on, so that a child's achievement on the deferred test is not so directly indicative of the method of teaching, but is based on the amount and method of his reviewing as well as upon the other elements of learning that may have taken place due to his advanced study in the intervening period.

Naturally we should hesitate to generalize dogmatically on the basis of a single experiment, because much will depend upon the way the teacher works out the lessons, either by the forward or backward method, and because some topics or phases of history might not be so well approached by one method as by the other. The results are, however, sufficiently in favor of the backward approach to warrant a careful consideration of this method of teaching history. They should encourage further experimentation on the part of other teachers and in connection with other aspects of history work besides the two topics that were included in this experiment.

CONSIDERATIONS FAVORABLE TO THE BACKWARD APPROACH TO HISTORY

In the remainder of this article we shall present certain viewpoints which are the outgrowth not so much of the investigation as of the thinking of the authors. Naturally the reader who is intrigued by the favorable results of the experiment will wish to have an explanation of the possible reasons why the backward method gave better results, and for that reason we have assembled here a list of such possible factors. They are presented without much effort toward strictly logical classification, and without any other proof of their truth or soundness than their own reasonableness or their satisfaction of the requirements of common sense. The writers do not pretend that every attempt by teachers to teach history backward will accomplish all the benefits listed here, nor even that any teacher, however skillful, would be able to teach history backward with sufficient effectiveness to attain perfection in some of the items listed below. They are presented simply for what they are worth to aid the thinking of those who wish to consider the proposal more thoroughly. Possibly some advocate of the customary approach to history will take the trouble to point out the fallacies in the arguments below and to give the advantages that attach to the usual approach. With these considerations in mind, we shall state briefly the arguments on the point and leave them for what they are worth.

1. The backward approach is a relatively new and different one, and for that reason, if for no other, deserves open-minded trial and experimentation.

2. It puts more emphasis on the modern periods than on the ancient, whereas the traditional approach often left students comparatively ignorant of modern times.

3. It gives the student who drops out of school before finishing the course a contact with the present, whereas under the old plan he was likely to be informed about the Ancients and to have little knowledge of the immediate past.

4. It lets the "dead past bury its dead" by ignoring the men or events who have had no special influence

on our own problems and times.

5. It makes history more of a problem course instead of mere memorization of facts, and each new

stead of mere memorization of facts, and each new item that is learned is sought in order to shed light on the problem which requires it.

6. It gives to the history course more of the character of a social science course and less that of a narra-

7. It puts more emphasis on causes since it is more natural to ask what caused an event than what the event caused.

8. It stimulates teacher and student alike to a clearer recognition of the relationships between the past and the present, and encourages more effort to interpret present problems in the light of their origins.

9. It guarantees that every fact learned about the past will relate to the present, since the absence of such a relationship would result in its being omitted from the course.

10. It encourages more attention to the non-military phases of history because we are not at war at the present time and most of the problems with which a class would begin are the problems of a world at peace.

11. It causes a new selection of history topics with more attention devoted to those which are actually related to present-day affairs.

12. It forces the teacher to keep alert and in touch with current happenings in order to guide the study of the past.

13. It captures the pupil's interest because it begins with topics in which he is already interested.

14. It explains the past more clearly because it compares it with what the student already knows and understands in the present, or in other words because it involves the principle of going from the known to the unknown.

History Teaching in Other Lands

Teaching of History in the Elementary Schools of Hungary

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A. ORGANIZATION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

Before examining into the organization of history teaching in the elementary schools of Hungary, it is desirable to know how the school system is organized,

Editor's Note.—This is the ninth installment of the reports of the Commission on History Teaching appointed by the International Committee of Historical Sciences. The Commission is composed of the following: Professor Gustave Glotz (France), Chairman; Dr. Otto Brandt (Germany), Secretary and Reporter; Don Rafael Altamira (Spain), Professor Edv. Bull (Norway), Senator C. Calisse (Italy), Dr. W. Carlgren (Sweden), Count Alfonso Celso (Brazil), Professor A. Domanovsky (Hungary), His Excellency Augustin Edwards (Chile), Professor M. Handelsman (Poland), Professor Frans van Kalken (Belgium), Professor A. C. Krey (United States of America), Professor C. Marinescu (Rumania), Dr. H. Nabholz (Switzerland), Mme. Marie Neilson (Denmark), Dr. M. Pokrovsky (U.S.S.R.), Dr. J. Susta (Czechoslovakia), Professor Tenhaeff (Netherlands).

The reports will appear in full in the Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, subscriptions to which (at \$1.00 for three numbers, or 40 cents a number) may be placed with Faxon and Co., 83 Francis Street, Boston,

at least in its main outlines; for it is within this system that the work of instruction operates upon the minds of the children and the young people.

I. As long ago as 1848, Baron J. Eötvös, our first Minister responsible for Public Instruction, declared that public education is a duty of the state. However, as a result of the war of independence which followed shortly afterward, laws enforcing compulsory attendance were not promulgated until much later, in 1868. These laws declared that every child must attend school daily from the age of six to the end of his twelfth year, and must then attend continuation school from the age of twelve to the end of his fifteenth year. General public instruction is thus divided into two periods, full-time attendance at school for six years, and attendance at continuation schools for three years. Article 23 of the basic law on public instruction makes the local political community primarily responsible for the schools, but the state, the different churches, associations, and private persons are also authorized to maintain schools.

While the basic law (Article 58) prescribes that in-

struction be given in the language of the pupils, and thus does not declare that Hungarian must necessarily be the language of instruction, Law xvIII of the year 1879 makes Hungarian a required subject in all public schools. Since a ministerial decree in 1923 guaranteed equal rights to national minorities, public instruction is at present organized, in respect to the language of instruction, so that there are three types of schools for the national minorities, and the community or the person who maintains the school may freely choose any one of these types. They are: (A) schools in which all subjects except Hungarian, which is a required subject, are taught in the minority language; (B) the mixed type, in which instruction is partly in the minority language and partly in Hungarian; (C) schools in which all instruction is given in Hungarian, except for the study of the minority language as a required subject. In 1923, schools of the minority groups were divided among these three types as follows: Type A, 93, type B, 87, Type C, 485.

Law xLVI, of the year 1908, proclaims that there is to be absolutely no charge for instruction in any public school, whether full-time or continuation.

Instruction in the elementary schools is regulated at present by the "Plan of Study for Use in the Elementary Schools." This plan was established by ministerial decree No. 1467.

In order to make it possible for all inhabitants to profit by the benefits of compulsory education, many new schools were established by the Hungarian government, even after the Treaty of Trianon came into force. In 1925-1926, there were 6,438 elementary schools, with 16,705 teachers, and 656,349 pupils.

At present, our public schools are again being reorganized. A ministerial decree, No. 1973 of the year 1928, laid down a plan for gradually enlarging the field of the elementary school by adding a seventh and an eighth class, so that full-time attendance will be compulsory from six to fourteen, and, with two years more of continuation courses, attendance will be compulsory to the age of sixteen, as is the case in foreign countries.

The basic law and Law No. xxx of the year 1921 make the continuation school a second stage in elementary instruction, coming at the end of the six years of full-time attendance, and securing greater stability and breadth in elementary education.

Since about two-thirds of the people of Hungary are engaged in agriculture, the government has organized technical schools at the lower levels of the educational system for this occupation. These schools are of the following types: (1) Public continuation schools with emphasis on agriculture, which take the place of the general continuation school. In 1925, there were 1,044 of these schools, with 93,600 pupils. (2) Instead of a school of this kind, in a community where there are at least 120 pupils between the ages of twelve and fifteen, of compulsory school age and interested in agriculture, an agricultural school with a specialized teaching staff is organized as a separate institution, having a model farm of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 30 acres. Instruction in scientific agronomy is given in this school for three

years to children of the farming class. In 1925, there were 48 such schools, with 127 teachers, and 18,221 pupils. (3) There are likewise agricultural schools with model farms of 300 to 450 acres, in which pupils who have completed their seventeenth year, and whose parents possess a very small property, may continue their studies and obtain the training necessary for farm superintendents. There are ten of these schools. With them may be counted certain agricultural schools at a lower level, which give specialized instruction in certain branches of agriculture.

Other types of technical continuation schools are:
(1) Schools for industrial apprentices, founded by the government in 1877, and recently reorganized in 1924. These schools give a three-year course. In 1925-1926 there were 366 schools of this type, with 69,981 pupils. (2) Schools for commercial apprentices, organized by the regulations of 1897. A school of this type must be established in every community in which there are more than 40 commercial apprentices. Pupils are from twelve to fifteen years old. In 1925-1926, there were thirty-four schools of this type, with 4,340 pupils.

II. Law No. xxxvIII, of the year 1868, introduced a new type of school into the educational system. This is the upper elementary school, which follows the fourth class of the elementary school. In this school there was to be a six-year course for boys and four-year course for girls. However, since few boys took the work of the last two classes, Law No. xII in 1927 cut down the boys' course to four years. By the same law, communities with a population of more than 5,000 must maintain upper elementary schools. Only pupils who have made a good record in the first four years of elementary school are admitted to the upper schools, so that the pupils in these upper schools are from ten to fourteen years of age.

The graduation certificate given after completing the fourth class of the upper elementary school gives admission to elementary normal school, higher commercial schools, higher industrial schools, and higher agricultural schools. Pupils with this certificate may also enter the fifth class of a secondary school if they succeed in passing the special entrance examinations. The graduation certificate of the upper elementary school also opens the way to certain minor official positions such as those of employees in the railroads or in the postal system.

The number of these schools has been increasing rapidly, and this popularity is a characteristic sign of the advance in the general level of education of the Hungarian people. In 1927-1928, there were 438 upper elementary schools, 186 for boys and 252 for girls.

The plan of study at present in force in the upper elementary schools for boys, was introduced by ministerial decree No. 70,022 of April 30, 1918, and instructions concerning this plan may be found in ministerial decree No. 1434, dated July 4, 1927.

III. The fourth year of the upper elementary school or secondary school must be completed for admission to an elementary normal school. These institu-

tions, so important for public instruction, go back to the time of Maria Theresa, but Law No. xxxvIII in 1868 gave them their fundamental organization. By this law, any group or an individual who may open an elementary school, may establish a normal school.

The present organization of the elementary normal schools was established by decree No. 81,986 of June 1923. Admission to these schools is regulated by mininsterial degree No. 840-05/44, dated March 6, 1929. To be eligible for admission, the candidate must be at least fourteen and not older than sixteen; and his record in the four classes of upper elementary school or secondary school (classical or modern) may have no mark below a passing grade and the lowest passing grade in not more than one subject. These restrictions give a selected group from the very beginning, so that professional instruction is given only to those who are best fitted to receive it.

In 1927-1928, there were 20 normal schools for men, and 27 for women; that is, in all, 47 normal schools, with 410 professors and 7,235 students.

B. TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Having outlined the organization of elementary education, we may now take up the question of the teaching of history in the types of schools which we have just mentioned.

I. Under the plan of study which is at present in force, history is taught two hours a week in the fifth and sixth classes of the elementary school. The purpose of the teaching of history is "on the one hand, to teach children the history of the Hungarian nation, touching also upon events in universal history connected with it; to give them some idea of the Hungarian constitution which has developed through the ages; to teach them to have a pious respect for the past, and to understand its lessons; to educate them in patriotism and national pride; to strengthen them in confidence in the future and faith in Divine Providence; and, on the other hand, by giving them suitable civic instruction through teaching them the more important of their rights and duties as citizens, to develop in them a feeling of national solidarity and respect for the law."

The teaching of history begins in the fifth class, but the pupils are prepared for this instruction, to some extent, in the two preceding classes. In the third class, the origin of the people living in the commune and in the neighborhood, and the history of their establishment in the country are discussed; if there is a commemorative monument in the town, its significance is explained, and comments are also made on the stories and legends which are still living among the common people. In this class, some legends about the Huns and Hungarians are included in the readings as national legends.

In the fourth class, talks are given on the lives of great Hungarians. These talks are supplemented by historic and legendary stories or by short biographies of the great men of Hungary included in the readers. Then come readings which acquaint the pupils with

some of the decisive events in our national history. This preparation precedes the teaching of national history in the fifth and sixth classes in which two hours a week of history instruction are given. In the first year, the children learn the history of Hungary up to the disaster at Mohacs in 1526.

Although at this level history cannot be taught critically and directly from the sources, nevertheless, the pupils are given an opportunity, from time to time, by means of questions and explanations, to form their own judgments concerning certain events, so that the teachers may correct any erroneous ideas, and guide them to a correct conclusion. Because of the ethical aims of the teaching of history, the plan of study stresses the need for strict objectivity. The instructions in the plan of study of 1905 recommend that the instructor "teach only the truth without fear, without prejudice, but with ardent patriotism; that he abstain particularly from all national or religious bias, from calumny of our enemies, and from all party politics. We must teach the truth, but only such truth as has educative value and worth in school and in life." Following this instruction come the history courses in the upper elementary schools.

II. According to the plan of study, the principal aim of the upper elementary school is, without losing sight of the serious demands of the present period, to habituate the pupils to more intense intellectual activity, to develop their initiative, and to make them good citizens, useful to the nation.

Since the upper elementary school has the express purpose of giving general culture and preparation for life, the history courses in this school should be adapted to this purpose. Therefore, the pupils must learn not only the history of their own country, but also the general course of world history. The object of instruction in history should be to give "an outline of world history, and a detailed knowledge of the history of Hungary."

The plan of study allows two hours a week for the teaching of history in the second year of the boys' schools, and three hours a week in the third and fourth years. In the schools for girls, history is given two hours a week in the third year, and three hours in the fourth.

As in the elementary school, instruction in history proper is preceded by preparatory studies. In the first year of the boys' schools, and in the first and second years of the girls' schools, instruction in the Hungarian language includes the study of certain historic legends which have not been taken up in the elementary schools, as well as the reading of poems on historical subjects, chosen from works in our literature which the pupils have not yet studied, and which are suitable for strengthening their feeling of patriotism.

History is taught as a separate subject only from the second year on, in the schools for boys. In the second year, the history of antiquity and the Middle Ages up to the Hungarian conquest are studied by using a collection of historical readings composed of forty or fifty selections. A picture of ancient times is given, and the importance of the ancient oriental peoples in the history of civilization is studied. In outlining the political history of Greece, stress is laid on the creative force of the Hellenic mind. Taking up Roman history, the virtues and the vices of the Roman people are described, the causes of the decadence of Rome are shown, and a great deal of attention is given to the rôle of Rome in the history of civilization. After a survey of the great migrations, the pupils reach the period in which the Hungarians appear.

The study of Hungarian history begins in the third year only after this preparation. The subject-matter of this course includes a survey of the history of Hungary to the catastrophe of Mohács, and subjects in world history bearing on Hungarian history, such as: rivalry of Empire and Papacy, feudalism, Islam, the Crusades, the rise of the bourgeoisie, the cities—especially the Italian—and medieval civilization.

The subject-matter in the fourth year is as follows: the history of the Hungarian nation, from the catastrophe of Mohács to the present, and topics in world history which bear on our own; the Renaissance; the Reformation; the supremacy of the house of Hapsburg; the Thirty Years' War; the Century of Louis XIV; eighteenth century civilization; the French Revolution; Napoleon; changes in social and economic life in the nineteenth century. This course ends with a rapid survey of the present situation of our country.

In the schools for girls, special attention is given in the history courses to the characteristics of important periods, and to the study of the civilization of these periods, the structure of society, and the position of women in this social structure.

While in the schools for boys the study of world history begins in the second year, and is almost the only history studied in that year, in the schools for girls the plan of study for the third year prescribes a short survey of world history in ancient times and the Middle Ages, and gives only ten lessons for this study. Otherwise, the subject-matter is the same as that presented in the schools for boys in the third and fourth years, both in national history and world history. There are, however, two exceptions; in the third the corresponding year of the boys' schools, and in the fourth year the course concludes with the study of the essential characteristics of the Hungarian constitution, instead of the survey of the present situation of Hungary which is given to the boys. In the upper elementary schools, a special effort is made in teaching history, to bring out relationships among facts, to illuminate them, to evaluate them properly, and to draw lessons from them. While the history courses in the elementary school deal especially with the brilliant periods of our national life, and scarcely mention the periods of decline and the causes of this decline, the young people in the upper schools, who are intellectually more mature, must learn the details of these periods. They must understand the forces which have interfered with national progress, the results of growing egotism, etc. In the elementary school, we rarely have occasion to draw moral instruction from history, but in the upper elementary school this may be done. However, it is always important to remain objective and without prejudice.

"Today it is necessary to proceed to a severe examination of conscience bearing on the present and the past," says the instructions for the upper elementary schools. According to these instructions, it is better to use contemporary sources for the study of the state of civilization at different times, than to give formal lectures on these periods.

III. When the teaching of history in the upper elementary schools is completed, all desirable conditions exist for the successful accomplishment of the work of the normal school.

The purpose of instruction in history in the normal school is to give "a general historical and social culture, with a patriotic and religious spirit, which is based upon the political, social, economic, and cultural development of Hungary, and upon the ideas which have influenced this development."

History is given two hours a week in each of the four classes. In the first class, the following subjects are taken up:

1. Primitive times, relics of these periods, and the material and intellectual civilization of these periods as far as it can be reconstructed through these relics.

2. Antiquity. (a) civilization of oriental peoples; (b) the political history of Greece, considered especially from the point of view of the history of civilization; (c) a thorough study of the development of Hellenic civilization, and of the history of the Romans who transmitted this civilization to us; the founding of Rome and the Roman monarchy; the Republic, with special consideration of economic, social, and political struggles, as well as the organization of the state; the period of Caesar and Augustus, social life in Rome, Roman civilization and its transformation under the influence of Christianity, the rôle of Roman civilization in the world—these last topics to be treated with special care.

3. The Middle Ages. (a) After a rapid survey of the great migrations the following subjects are taken up: Arab civilization; birth of the Papacy and the Western Empire; the organization of feudal society; material and intellectual civilization of the period of Charlemagne. (b) The formation of modern states, and the conquest of Hungary by the Hungarians.

This ends the work of this class.

The second-year course deals with the following topics: the rise of the power of the German emperors; the Investiture struggle; the results of the Crusades; a detailed study of the history of the material and intellectual civilization of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; the Great Schism; the formation of the Ottoman Empire. Special attention is then given to the Renaissance and Humanism, the changes caused by inventions and discoveries, the causes, the spread, and the results of the Reformation, the English Reformation, and the beginnings of England's greatness, the counter-Reformation, wars of the Huguenots and the religious wars, and the Peace of Westphalia. The origins and development of absolute government are studied in connection with the history of absolutism in England, and a discussion of the administration of Louis XIV. In the period of enlightened despotism, special attention is given to the ideas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the changes in scientific theory. The Powers of the North are studied with particular emphasis on the designs of Russia and on the formation and rise of Prussia.

In the third year, we take up the period of the struggle for democracy, the formation of the United States, the events which foreshadowed the French Revolution, the causes and the events of that Revolution, the conflicts of the Republic, the career and the fall of Napoleon, the changes brought about in economic life as the result of scientific progress. The period of constitutional, national, and social struggles gives us an opportunity to make the pupils understand the full significance and extent of the concept of nationality. We study the July and February Revolutions [of 1830 and 1848], and their consequences, the unification of Italy and of Germany, and the birth of the third French republic. After considering the Eastern Question, we dwell on world politics in the nineteenth century. The study of world political history ends with a review of the principal events of the World War. While the subject-matter deals with world history, the pupils are, nevertheless, being prepared for close and thorough study of the history of Hungary, for in the universal history which is taught in the first three years, we show the Hungarian nation in the midst of the manifestations and conflicts of the forces which have made the history of the world.

After having exhausted the material of universal history, we consider social evolution and the changes in social organization from the most primitive forms up to those of the present day. Of course, we have already considered this subject while studying the history of different periods, but now we take it up more thoroughly and completely. Particular attention is given to social movements and their results, and to socialist tendencies and their manifestations during the World War and afterwards. In the fourth year, the history of the Hungarian nation completes and ends our historical teaching.

Thus the history of Hungary is taught at four different levels, but each time from a new viewpoint. In the elementary school, we merely stimulate the pupils' historical sense by means of vivid stories which appeal to the imagination. In the upper elementary school, we draw the attention of the pupils to economic and social

evolution. In the normal school, our teaching of history becomes genetic and pragmatic; we place our country in the midst of the current of human civilization, and we show our pupils the historic rôle of our nation and what it represents in the world. This does not mean that the instruction in the normal schools pretends to give a philosophy of history, but only that when the student has reached this level, this instruction should show him the tremendous importance of conceptions dealing with universal history, which are connected with the study of Hungarian history.

The Instructions give the following warning: "Events and phenomena should be considered from the point of view of the period in which they take place, and the professor must guard himself against erroneous generalizations, prejudices, and exaggerations; he must give an example of respect and love for truth, through his critical spirit." The nature of the subject which is being discussed always determines whether political events or public and social life, economic history, or the history of civilization are to be most prominent in the instruction. At this stage of instruction, a thoroughgoing study of economic and social history is at least as useful as a study of political events with emphasis on the use of documents. This view is supported by the plan of study, which directs particular attention to the nineteenth century.

Especially in the dynamic history of the nineteenth century and of the present do we feel the importance of struggles for great human ideals, as well as the importance of aspirations of an economic sort, which tend to assure internal prosperity and external power, production and the profits of production. This history will teach the student to value labor, and to realize that men cannot get along without each other. This is a result of great importance, not only because it develops a social sense in the future teachers, but also it

shows them the task which awaits them.

But, what is still more important, our teaching of history makes the students feel deeply the grandeur and nobility of their task, and qualifies them to work for the rehabilitation of our unhappy country. The tremendous losses which our nation has suffered can be compensated only by a fraternal labor, which will bring together in common civilizations the sons of all the nations.

History Textbooks—A South American Viewpoint

BY HELOISE BRAINERD, PAN AMERICAN UNION

At a meeting of the Popular Lecture Institute of Buenos Aires under the auspices of La Prensa, one of the great Argentine dailies, Dr. Rodolfo M. Luque, a prominent lawyer, university professor and journalist, gave an address on the subject: "Why are not relations more cordial between the countries of America?"

In the course of his remarks, Dr. Luque set forth the belief that the secret of the distrust and even antipathy toward other American nations which he finds among the common people everywhere lies in the incorrect and highly critical statements made in national histories about other countries, which produce in the minds of children an indelible prejudice against them. Beginning with his own country, Dr. Luque points out that Argentine histories do scant justice to the achievements of neighboring peoples in the wars of independence, and he gives detailed instances of the harsh treatment accorded Argentina in the school histories of Uruguay, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, and other countries.

He then continues: "As for the United States, judging from the information I have at hand and the textbooks I have read, it seems that in the teaching of history in the primary and secondary schools, mention is not made of the existence of the South American nations. The Argentine educators who recently spent their vacation in the United States observed that in the secondary schools no instruction is given in Argentine geography and history. Graduates from those institutions do not even know the names of the South American countries, while the only thing they do know about the continent south of the Caribbean Sea is that it includes tropical, temperate, and cold zones.

"These impressions agree with my own observations made upon examining some of the textbooks of modern and contemporary history of the world which are most commonly used in the United States. They are admirable books, and I believe that none of the texts used in our country can equal them. They have up-to-date information, including the study of the 1919 Peace Treaty of Versailles. They deal with all of the important events of modern times on the various continents-The French Revolution, Napoleonic Wars, establishment of constitutional governments in Europe, unification of Italy, formation of the German Empire, Franco-Prussian War, colonial expansion of England. partition of Africa, European intervention in China, the transformation of Japan, and the South African War. But there is not a line about the great phenomenon of the formation of twenty republics from the Rio Grande, southern boundary of the United States, to Cape Horn; as if those new nations did not form a part of the civilized world and as if they had not already existed for a century. In one of the books when speaking of the war with Spain, in which the latter lost Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands, a mere mention is made of the fact that at the beginning of the nineteenth century she had lost her American colonies, due to the Napoleonic invasion, and that the Monroe Doctrine kept her from regaining them. But in this short reference I did not have the pleasure of seeing the name of my country men-

"Although the school children do not know of us, the export divisions of the large factories are acquainted with us, for this year we are buying more automobiles from the United States than does any other country.

"Consequently there is in the schools a general atmosphere of ill-will and indifference toward the other American nations. Since the men of today learned as children that the heroes of their own country have a monopoly on moral and patriotic virtue and that the leaders and the citizens of neighboring countries are disloyal and egotistical, even criminals, robbers, and traitors, it is not surprising that there exists in some American nations a marked antipathy toward their neighbors.

"The harm that is done to inter-American cordiality by this type of history instruction is not in any way lessened by the very ceremonious speeches exchanged between diplomatic representatives in presenting their credentials and by government officials in receiving them. Such commonly used expressions as 'sister countries,' 'friendly nations,' 'kindred sentiments,' 'common glories,' must sound hollow to the man on the street. Yet it is evident that this time the truth of the matter is found in the ceremonious speeches and not in the school texts.

"For this reason, I believe that the lack of cordiality in inter-American relations is due to the fact that the educational officials in the countries of Latin origin are not careful to correct abuses caused by over-zeal-ous patriotism in the teaching of national history; and, for similar reasons, the history and geography taught in the Republic of the North are, in regard to the American continents, a century and a half behind the times."

While Dr. Luque's criticisms may not be correct in every detail, is not his point of view justifiable? With the increasing part that the Latin American countries are playing in world affairs—in the League of Nations and other international agencies working for peace and justice, in the markets of the world, and in varied fields of activity and influence—should not our young people know something of the history and individual characteristics of this group of twenty nations whose relations with us are considered by many statesmen to be just as important to the United States as our relations with Europe, sufficiently important for a busy President-elect to take the time to get acquainted with their people and try to understand their point of view?

Of all the interpretations of St. Francis of Assisi which have been written, that by Gamaliel Bradford in the July issue of the South Atlantic Quarterly stands alone for its emphasis on the significance of his wandering life. The first principle of St. Francis's religion was that of absolute and complete poverty; he was hostile to money in itself and in its accumulation. His threefold service to poverty, to chastity, and to obedience were not original with him and because they warred against the fundamental principles of human nature, such principles antagonized as many as they won. His failure, no less than his success, was in this austerity. But the freshest and most delightful of all elements of his character, the impulse of wandering, of joyous, untiring inexhaustible vagrant peregrination, was based on one of the fundamental impulses of human nature-the desire for new things and for fresh experiences, the splendid impulse of eternal and vivid youth. The all-pervading sense of the presence of God gives to the Franciscan spirit of vagrancy its final crowning touch. Every human soul has felt the delicious joy of wandering for the pure delight of adventure; but such wandering has much more of depth and delicacy and even of grandeur when it is born of a consciousness of the call of God. Francis lived most of his life in the intoxication of this joy and in his imparting that same intoxication to his followers he won them to his side and held them more permanently than ever he did by rule or by self-denial.

Bibliographies for Teachers of the Social Studies

2. Medieval History

BY EDGAR BRUCE WESLEY

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This is the second of a series of bibliographies designed for high school teachers of the social studies. The general plan and purpose, which must be taken into account if the bibliographies are not to be misunderstood, were discussed in the first installment, devoted to Ancient History, which appeared in the November issue.

The authors cited in the following bibliography will not, of course, be found in agreement as to the delimitation of the medieval period. Scholars and textbook writers differ widely as to the beginning and end of the period. Did Adrianople mark the end of ancient history? Were the so-called Dark Ages a part of medieval history? Did the French Revolution or the Industrial Revolution mark the beginning of modern history in a more fundamental sense than the Renaissance or Reformation? Various writers have rendered various answers. The following columns of dates and events show some of the limits which have been set to medieval history. The reader will note that any date in the left-hand column can be associated with any date or event in the right-hand column. For example, one might choose 325 as the beginning of medieval history and any one of the sixteen dates given or indicated in the right hand column as the close of the period. Each of the eleven beginning dates could be matched with any of the sixteen closing dates. Thus the following table shows 176 possibilities for the extent of medieval history. It is probable that all of them have not yet been claimed by historians, but they are nevertheless possibilities.

Beginning of Medieval	End of Medieval		
History	History		
325	Dante		
378	13th century		
395	Renaissance		
410	c 1450		
451	Printing		
455	1453		
476	1485		
e 500	1492		
565	c 1500		
732	Reformation		
800	1648		
	1660		
	1713		
	1715		
	c 1750		
	1780		

Whatever one may decide as to the proper limits of medieval history, one has the solace of knowing that an excellent guide to the literature on the period is available: Professor Louis J. Paetow's Guide to the Study of Medieval History for Students, Teachers, and Libraries, first issued in 1917. A new and enlarged edition, on which Professor Paetow was working before his death, has just appeared (Crofts, New York). The guide includes some books of popular interest as well as sources and scholarly monographs. The new edition is particularly valuable because of the fact that it includes the names of recent publications. In addition to giving the names of books, this guide actually steers the reader through the mass of literature by presenting outlines of various subjects and listing specific readings for each subdivision.

Besides the problem of finding authoritative accounts about one's materials, there is the necessity of selecting what one will teach. The teacher of medieval history has here certain advantages over the teacher of modern history. Because of the very remoteness of the period, he has opportunities of selection denied the teacher of modern history.

The historian, of course, would be quite cautious in selecting any thread to unify the events of this period; in fact, he would very properly maintain that there is no such thread. Realizing the great diversity of feudalism, he would deny that it serves as the basis of unity. Knowing the varied fortunes of the Church and of the Empire, he might refrain from assigning them any great rôle as unifiers. In spite of these facts it is a defensible thesis that, once we agree to periodicize, there is more truly a history of Europe in medieval times than in modern. In the latter, strong governments arose and each country developed its own peculiar political institutions. The history of Europe then becomes primarily the history of various countries. But as long as feudalism, which conditioned social, economic, and political life, was strong enough to prevent and delay the developments of such governments, feudalism itself served as a common denominator on which we can now erect a history of medieval Europe. It is true that the denominator decreases and the numerators change, but having ascertained the denominator, we can select the numerators and determine something of the approximate value of the fraction at a given time. The Church and the Empire were conditioned by feudalism and very properly serve as two of the most important numerators. Another numerator is nationality, which was of slight value in the early part of the period but of progressive value as we advance, until it turns the equation into an improper fraction. Many other numerators could be selected, as Mohammedanism, the crusades, parliaments, migrations, and social and economic activities.

There is, then, in the treatment of medieval history, at least the chance to select a common denominator, and this chance the high school teacher may utilize because he is giving immature and relatively uninformed students their introduction to the subject. To select feudalism as such a common denominator certainly does not mean that we have construed all medieval history as only phases of feudalism. It does mean that, confronted by the absolute necessity of selecting, we have tried to do so to the best advantage. We have selected a topic of supreme importance and one from which we may reach out easily into other important aspects of the period; further, the topic lends itself admirably to one of the most useful devices of teaching, namely, contrast. In thus employing contrast, we shall run the risk of directing attention to the unusual or picturesque rather than to the vital, but this danger will be avoided when the teacher is adequately grounded by a studious reading of medieval history in its detailed reality.

All of this points to the desirability of a well selected reading program for teachers which develops consistently certain conventional topics, builds up the reader's sense for the concrete realities of the period, and establishes the grounds for an appreciation of the permanent contributions of the middle ages. Perhaps the following will serve as an introduction to such a reading program.

II. Medieval History

A. Authorities

- Contemporary writers and sources: Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Asser. Bede, Comines, Domesday Book, Einhard, Froissart, Gregory of Tours, Paul the Deacon, Otto of Freising.
- Modern: Adams, Beazley, Burckhardt, Bury, Creighton, Cunningham, Freeman, Gebhardt, Green, Gregorovius, Gierke, Harnack, Harrisse, Haskins, Hodgkin, Langlois, Lavisse, Lea, Luchaire, Maitland, Mann, Michelet, Milman, Oman, Pastor, Pirenne, Prothero, Ranke, Rashdall, Round, Seebohm, Seignobos, Stubbs, Symonds, Taylor, Traill, Vinogradoff, Voigt, Waitz.

B. Bibliography

 Cambridge Medieval History. Edited by H. M. Gwatkin, et al. 6 vols. New York, Macmillan, 1911-1929.

Similar in scope and plan to the corresponding set on ancient history. French, Russian, German, and American, as well English, scholars have contributed chapters in the fields of their interests. Detailed, sometimes dry, but indispensable for its fullness, its scholarship, and its excellent bibliographies. 2. Gibbon, Edward. History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. (Various numbers of volumes, editors, cities, and dates.)

It is a rare library which does not contain this account of "the gradual decline of the most extraordinary dominion which has ever invaded and oppressed the world." The appearance of the first volume antedates the Declaration of Independence. The enduring popularity of the set is evidence of its sweep, style, appeal, and accuracy. Gibbon, as John Morley has observed, besides being a master of the literary art and a great historian, had "the advantage of throwing himself into a religious controversy that is destined to endure for centuries." Most of us are familiar with his unfriendly account of early Christianity in Chapters xv and xvi; fewer of us know the even more important discussion of the constitutional basis of the church in Chapter xx. A great treatise on Roman law is given in Chapter XLIV; and Chapter L contains the famous account of the geographic setting of Mohammedanism. All who talk glibly of the Fall of Constantinople have not read a detailed account of that great event, much less Gibbon's colorful Chapter LXVIII. Barbarians and Romans, prelates and princes, officials and satellites, soldiers and monks, conquerors and conquered move across the stage in a grand manner. Economic and social matters are slighted, but a vast store remains, for Gibbon's central theme was quite inclusive enough. Since the work is so frequently available, teachers might profitably see wherein it would contribute to their professional growth.

 Adams, George Burton. Civilization during the Middle Ages. New York, Scribners, 1894, Revised 1914.

A masterly work, not so much for its style as for its coördination and interpretation. Chapter ix is perhaps the best short survey in English of feudalism. A book to be read and reread, for in the hands of such writers as Adams history has meaning.

- Munro, Dana C., and Sontag, R. J. Middle Ages, 395-1500. New York, Century, 1928.
- Sellery, George C. and Krey, August C. Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization, New York, Harpers, 1929.
- Thatcher, Oliver J. and McNeal, Edgar H. Europe in the Middle Age. New York, Scribners, 1896, Revised 1920.
- Thorndike, Lynn. History of Medieval Europe. Boston, Houghton, 1917.

These texts are convenient accounts designed for college use. Munro and Sontag have written a readable and balanced story. Sellery and Krey have followed the significant thread of history. They have given a clear, connected story of the papacy. Their account of the Renaissance delimits and clarifies the term. Contains excellent black and white maps. Thatcher and McNeal have an excellent style and make marginal citations to sources. Thorndike has particularly good chapters on the rise of towns. The organization is perhaps not so clear as some of the others mentioned.

8. Thompson, James W. Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages. New York, Century, 1928.

This is one of the few books which deal with the continental countries; therefore, the author's practical omission of England may be overlooked, especially as there are several excellent books on the social and economic aspects of that country. The critics have pointed out some flaws and the cautious teacher may want to check some statements. In spite of this possible fault the reading of it will quicken and strengthen one's teaching, for it is a colorful book by a brilliant teacher. The volume covers the period from 300 to 1300. A second volume, carrying the account to 1500, has just appeared.

 Adams, George B. Growth of the French Nation. New York, Macmillan, 1896.

 Chapman, Charles E. History of Spain. New York, Macmillan, 1918.

 Cross, Arthur L. History of England and Greater Britain. New York, Macmillan, 1914.

 Henderson, Ernest F. Short History of Germany. New York, Macmillan, 1916.

 Sedgwick, Henry D. Short History of Italy, 476-1900. Boston, Houghton, 1905.

These histories are cited as being, perhaps among the best for a survey of the development of nationality in the respective countries. They are also useful in emphasizing the events which are peculiar to the countries represented. Some of them will receive further consideration in the bibliography devoted to modern history.

 Emerton, Ephraim. Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages. Boston, Ginn, 1894.

One of the classics. The best introduction to feudalism available. Readable. A transparent organization, which can be utilized in teaching pupils of almost any grade.

 Seignobos, Charles. Feudal Régime. New York, 1926.

A translation of selected portions of the volume Le Régime féodal. An excellent, though brief, account which emphasizes the various aspects of feudalism.

 Margoliouth, D. C. Mohammedanism. New York, Holt, 1911, Revised, 1912.

A teacher's reading must be guided to some extent by the use to which he can put the results. Considering the small space which Mohammedanism occupies in most texts, the teacher will perhaps want no more extensive work than this little volume in the Home University Library. Margoliouth presents an interesting and, what is more unusual, a sympathetic account of the religion of Mohammed.

 Bryce, James. Holy Roman Empire. London, Macmillan, 1864.

The history of an idea, and a dominating one in the middle ages. This remarkable book has been revised and republished numerous times and has been translated into many languages. Clear, unified, and thoughtful. The Empire has baffled more than one teacher. It will no longer trouble one who is willing to read even casually this clear account of a complex organization. Incidentally the reader will learn much about the church and the history of Germany.

 Haskins, Charles H. The Normans in European History. Boston, Houghton, 1915.

The books which a teacher will profit most by reading are not always on subjects which strike one as being of world-shaking importance. The books available and their quality determine one's reading quite as much as the theoretical significance of chosen subjects. The Normans, important as they were, might not be listed in a bibliography of this kind were it not for the fact that they have received the attention of a great scholar. The Normans are a troublesome subject for teachers. for they turn up in France, England, Italy, and Palestine. The inhabitants of those countries seem to have found no cure for the Normans; the teacher need simply call Professor Haskins to his assistance.

 Archer, Thomas A., and Kingsford, Charles L. The Crusades. New York, Putnam, 1895.

It is unfortunate that the results of the scholarly work of Burr, Duncalf, Krey, Michaud, Munro, Röhricht, Sybel, and others who have dealt with the crusades are not available in a one-volume book covering the whole subject. In the absence of such a survey, one may find Ernest Barker's article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica a useful summary, and Harold Lamb's Crusades (Doubleday, 1930) a vivid, semi-imaginative account based to some extent upon sources. Archer and Kingsford's work, however, remains the standard book. Illustrated and well written.

 Davis, W. S. Life on a Medieval Barony. New York, Harper, 1923.

Power, Eileen. Medieval People. Boston, Houghton, 1924.

The teacher needs to know much more than great themes, trends, movements, interpretations, and generalizations. These larger conceptions should arise from a thorough knowledge of numerous concrete facts, instances, and illustrations. These two vivid, colorful, and realistic books will supply must of this concrete material. The reader meets everyday people—a peasant, a traveller, a prioress, a housewife, and a merchant. He partakes of sumptuous feasts and meets nobles in their everyday attire. Manorial life and medieval people take on reality. Stimulating books.

22. Luchaire, Achille. Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus. New York, Holt, 1912.

This volume differs from the two preceding in that it is based upon concrete instances rather than imaginative reconstruction. One chapter each is devoted to portraiture of student, canon, bishop, monastery, parish, noble and peasant. The volume is extensive enough to allow the author space in which to develop his material, and a few readers will object to its length, for the style, even in translation, is direct and fluent. The portraits, though specifically French, may be taken as representative of such characters throughout Europe. Few books will pay the teacher greater dividends than this account by a great French historian, who is popular with Americans.

23. Munro, Dana C. and Sellery, George C. eds. Medieval Civilization: Selected Studies from European Authors. New York, Century, 1904, Revised 1907.

"The cream of European scholarship." Selections on various topics from Lavisse, Luchaire, Weise, Esmein. and other great historians. Authoritative and interesting.

24. Hearnshaw, F. J. C., ed. Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization. London, Harrap, 1921.

25. Crump, C. G. and Jacob, E. F., eds. The Legacy of the Middle Ages. Oxford, Clarendon, 1926.

In each case, the editors have secured the contributions of competent authorities on various subjects, who present excellent summaries of the enduring factors of the middle ages. Hearnshaw's volume is perhaps more readable because it consists of lectures. These treat of religion, philosophy, science, poetry, education, society, economics, and politics. The lecture on philosophy is particularly illuminating because the speaker brought out the relation of his subject to both ancient and modern times. Crump and Jacobs devote extensive sections to art, literature, and law and less space to philosophy, religion, education, and the position of women. Professor N. S. B. Gras of Harvard contributes the chapter on the economic life of medieval towns.

 Pollard, A. F. The Evolution of Parliament. New York, Longmans, 1920.

In the field of constitutional history the scholar may need to know Adams, Anson, Bagehot, Dicey, Haskins, Maitland, McIlwain, McKechnie, Stubbs, et. al., but the teacher who intends to utilize his reading in the actual process of teaching high school students will in general want to read an account which stresses parliamentary developments rather than theory. Pollard's vigorous style and method are indicated by such chapter titles as "The Myth of the Three Estates" and "The Fiction of the Peerage." Whereas so many writers on constitutional subjects do not pass this side of 1485, Pollard connects later developments with origins. His frequent comparisons between English and American principles and procedures sting the American reader into attention. A brilliant book.

 Hulme, E. M. Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe. New York, Century, 1914, Revised 1917.

The changed conception of the Renaissance has outmoded most of the interpretations which rest upon Symonds, Voigt, and Burckhardt. Writers have shown that a renaissance occurred before the Renaissance and afterwards. Some have restricted the term to the revival of classical studies, and others describe it as a mode of interpretation in vogue during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The conflict may be witnessed by contrasting J. A. Symonds' article on "Renaissance" in the eleventh edition of the Britannica with J. T. Shotwell's article on the "Middle Ages." The newer interpretations minimize the importance of the subject. It is interesting to note that the recent Guide to Historical Literature (Macmillan, 1931) does not list the once popular Oldham, or Sichel's short summary. Meanwhile, Hulme, gives an adequate statement of the conventional interpretation of the Renaissance.

 Smith, Preserved. Age of the Reformation. New York, Holt, 1920.

The book to read on the Reformation period. Scholarly, well organized, brilliantly written. Places the

movement with respect to political, economic, and social developments and provides an excellent summary of the political theories of the Reformation. Not a little of the charm of the book consists of the skillfully interwoven quotations. The reader feels that he is meeting, beside Professor Smith, many of the contemporaries of the Reformation period.

 Walker, Willston. A History of the Christian Church. New York, Scribners, 1918.

Dictionaries, atlases, and encyclopedias on theology. Christianity, and church history are numerous, and many of them are works of sound scholarship. Hastings, Herzog, Schaff, McGiffert, Harnack, Smith, and Gasquet are only a few of a host of writers who have made notable contributions. The teacher who must confine himself to one volume will make a wise choice in selecting Walker. Writing in a clear style, with sound scholarship and a tolerant spirit, he covers the entire field of men, movements, and controversies. Students of American church history, however, may be inclined to look elsewhere for a more extensive treatment of that phase.

Notes on Periodical Literature

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, Ph.D.

"Faith, Hope, and the Germans" is the subject of a very searching article by H. G. Parker which appears in the October issue of World's Work. Mr. Parker feels that this country, with its great credulity and generosity, has been the target for European cupidity in general and of German bad faith in particular. He quotes largely from recent German publications and proves quite conclusively that in the question of the Reparations, it is not a question as to whether Germany can pay, but a question as to whether she will pay. She has decided that for the present she will not, and has threatened American investments, again "wagging the situation by its tail." If she will not pay France, then neither will France pay America, and so, whether we wish it or not, the whole situation has been dumped into our unwilling lap.

"The Prospects of the Indian Federation" are discussed by Sir Robert Holland, K.C., C.S.I., C.V.O. in the last issue of the *Nineteenth Century*. The provisional scheme which has been under consideration is, he says, founded on false hopes and misconceptions and is therefore doomed to failure. England has been committed for a century and more to the task of enabling India to attain self-government. Rightly or wrongly, in earnest pursuance of that objective, the mother-country has given so many assurances, and delegated so many powers, that her footbold in India has become precarious. The element of responsibility introduced into the Central Government, in spite of these objections offered by all who had a share in the changes, has grown to a canker which is strangling the central executive. Unless India also sees this danger and of her own accord absolves England from her pledges, not even a drastic operation is possible which will save the situation and restore the lost virility of the Central Government. Unless some happy solution is found soon, all parties would be united against the government, for the slightest wrong move just now would become at once a signal for a renewal of civil disobedience on a far wider scale than any which has been heretofore attempted. Until the present decade a handful of aliens have ruled India, largely through good-will and personal loyalty. The former element no longer exists; the latter is disappearing; the seeds of nationalism have developed a of opposition, and even the former strongholds of lovalty are now centers of disaffection.

The High School Library and Reading Problems in the Social Studies*

BY PROFESSOR R. E. SWINDLER, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

I

Scope of the Investigation

Because of the breadth of the Social Studies library field and the variety and extent of social science offerings in the secondary schools, as well as the limits of time and effort available in such an individual survey as that herein reviewed, the scope of this study has been confined to the field of American history on the senior and junior high school levels.

H

PURPOSE AND METHOD OF APPROACH

The purpose and method of approach to the problem and its solution may be outlined as follows: (1) to obtain the essential facts concerning the present library situation in general, and in the social science field in particular; (2) to compare this average situation with the conditions in the most progressive school systems of the country and with the opinions of experts in this field; (3) to lay the basis for improvement and a remedial program through analyzing and applying all the scientific principles and criteria available at the present time; (4) to prepare final approved lists for the subject on both the junior and senior high school levels; (5) to divide these lists and designate them in kind and number of titles, to suit the varioussized secondary schools of the country, these schools being divided into five groups as to enrollment, according to some sound and generally accepted basis; (6) finally, thus to lay the basis for the application of the method and principles involved in this study to the working out of similar lists in the other social science subjects.

III

Basis and Criteria for Selection of Social Science Library Material

In accordance with the above plan, a general foundation for the study was laid in a cross-section view of "The Library and the Librarian—Present Conditions and Needs." Then, the "Criteria for Selection of Social Science Library Material" were set up. It was taken to be absolutely essential that these principles and criteria be outlined and set forth at the very beginning of the investigation. Otherwise, such a study would have no sound basis in educational psychology and philosophy to justify its method, the character of its investigation, and its results. In other words, it was

considered that if a sound, scientific, and practical program for selection and use of library materials was to be worked out, it had to take into account and conform to the progressive and scientific trends and character of the objectives, curriculum and educational measurements and outcomes of the modern secondary school.

These criteria (and factors involved) as set up for the Social Studies, briefly stated, are as follows:

- 1. There must be general agreement with the nature, trends, and objectives of the American secondary school.
- The materials selected must be in harmony with the character and trends of the reorganized and comprehensive curriculum of the modern secondary school.
- 3. These materials specifically must follow the trends and objectives of the social studies curriculum, and of the various subjects in particular.
- 4. They must conform to the fundamental nature and interests of the child—child psychology must be applied.
- 5. There must be the principle that library books and other materials have fewer accounts or topics, but longer and more interesting ones—on both high school levels, but more particularly on the junior high school level.
- 6. There must be representative works of "frontier think-
- The materials essentially must be historically and scientifically accurate—passed upon by subject-matter specialists or experts,
- 8. There must be books and other materials that children like to read, and read voluntarily, but this material passed upon by children's or adolescents' librarians, or other equally dependable and experienced authorities.
- 9. There must be grade-placement of the materials, to meet the interests and abilities of the pupils as they progress from year to year—"progress within the subject."

 10. Within these grades and groups there must be ap-
- Within these grades and groups there must be applied sufficient variety and scope of materials to provide for individual differences.
- 11. There must be materials that by research studies have proved socially most valuable.
- 12. There must be materials (and methods) that have proved most successful in the more progressive and efficient school systems of the day.
- 13. There must be proper balance and relative emphasis reflected in the library between the social studies and the other subjects of the school curriculum.
- 14. The lines must not be too closely drawn between materials properly suited to a given grade and those suited to the grades immediately above and below.

IV

OBJECTIVES OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES

One of the most important criteria of all is undoubtedly the objectives of the social studies. This was considered of such significance that a separate study and a separate chapter on objectives was included. Thirty-three school surveys and sixty leading city and state courses of study in the social studies field were examined, as well as the listings and statements of

^{*} This article is part of a much larger paper prepared by Professor Swindler as part of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Virginia.

seventeen social science experts, in the compiling of objectives.

THE VIRGINIA SURVEY OF LIBRARY BOOKS AND TEACHERS' RECOMMENDATIONS

At this point the particular and definite study on the major problem for investigation began.

The gathering of data for the Virginia study was provided for by the construction of a tentative key list of books on American history found in a fairly representative group of American high school libraries. This key list was then printed-about 1,000 separate titles-and sent to some 250 high schools of Virginia, scattered in all sections of the State. Then, after practically all of the returns were in, a visit was made to several schools that had not returned answers to the questionnaire list, in order to complete a representative sampling of the Virginia high school libraries in this field of study. In the returns, 113 high schools and 120 United States history teachers (including a few librarians) were heard from. Every section of the state was fairly well represented. The three main items of information asked for were (1) what books do you have in your library? (2) what titles do you recommend, regardless of whether they are in your library or not, and (3) for which grade do you recommend each book? All types of schools, large and small, city and rural, were canvassed, and the writer visited many of these in person.

As the first tabulation of results from the Virginia survey, we have the titles that represent the twentyfive most frequently found books in Virginia libraries at the time of the survey. These are given in the table which follows.

THE VIRGINIA SURVEY

THE LIBRARY IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

(Report from 110 high schools in Virginia)

- 1. Parkman, The Oregon Trail, 56.
- 2. Munford, Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery, 53.
- 3. Latané, History of the United States, 49.
- 4. Andrews, Brief History of the United States, 47.
- 5. Cheyney, History of England, 46.
- 6. Burke, Conciliation with America, 43.
- 7. Hale, Man Without a Country, 41.
- 8. Compton, Pictured Encyclopedia, 31. 9. Washington, Up From Slavery, 29.
- 10. Andrews, Women of the South in War Time, 28.
- 11. Riis, Making of An American, 26.
- 12. Bolton, Girls Who Became Famous, 25.
- 13. Cable, Old Creole Days, 25.
- 14. Beard and Bagley, History of the American People, 24.
- 15. Cooke, Stories of the Old Dominion, 24.
- 16. Henty, With Lee in Virginia, 24.
- 17. Roosevelt, Letters to His Children, 23.
- 18. Bruce, R. E. Lee, 23.
- 19. Roosevelt, Winning of the West, 22.
- 20. Drinkwater, Abraham Lincoln, 22.
- 21. Riley, Chandler, and Hamilton, Our Republic, 21.
- 22. Guerber, Story of the Thirteen Colonies, 21.
- 23. Page, The Old Dominion, 20.
- 24. Smithey, History of Virginia, 20.
- 25. Page, The Old South, 19.

VI

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE TABLE AND THE STUDY UPON WHICH THIS TABLE IS BASED, I.E., ON SOCIAL STUDIES LIBRARY MATERIAL ACTUALLY FOUND IN VIRGINIA HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARIES

The following conclusions seem to be warranted:1

- 1. The English departments of the State have been chiefly responsible for the building up of the libraries, even the most frequently recurring titles that history teachers mention being those secured through English departments.
- 2. The greatest frequencies of entries are those of textbooks placed in the libraries.
- 3. Social science teaching, with a very few exceptions, has been almost exclusively by the textbook system, no broader outlook being given to the vast majority of the
- 4. The libraries are still too sectional—too large a pro-
- portion of the books being southern.
- 5. A good many of the accretions to the libraries are due to special interests and propaganda.
- 6. There is a dearth of simple biography and story; the biographies found are too advanced and difficult, and not
- 7. Many of the other books found in the libraries are too advanced and difficult, a good proportion of them being distinctly on the college level.
- 8. There is not an adequate proportion of social and industrial periods material.
- 9. The library materials still show too much deference to the past, to tradition and to outworn educational ideas 10. Likewise, they are very short on materials covering
- recent fields, movements, and trends of social science. 11. A great deal of influence and pressure upon the li-braries has come from persons and interests outside the schools; there is desperate need for professionalization of the libraries and library literature.
- 12. A great part of the library materials in most libraries has come by mere chance, by such means as gifts of books to the library, without regard to the educational value or suitability of the books donated. On this account perhaps one-half the material is dead timber so far as its actual use and values are concerned.

VII

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE LIBRARY CONDITIONS IN VIRGINIA AND IN OTHER REPRESENTA-TIVE STATES (AMERICAN HISTORY)

The immediate and particular purpose of this section of the study was to supply data and facts that would fairly indicate: (1) what titles in the American history field are found in the secondary schools of these various states, with comparisons among the states in their progressive schools, (2) the average conditions as found in such typical states as Virginia and Indiana, in different sections of the country, and (3) to what degree such average library conditions are in harmony with the lists and recommendations by teachers in the progressive systems, as found in the several states from which data of progressive schools were received. From these statistics, then, significant conclusions were drawn which were applied to the making of a scientific program and library lists for the field indicated by the scope of the study.

For the purposes of this study questionnaire-lists in American History were sent out and returns received from the following states in addition to Virginia: New York, with returns from 36 progressive schools; Pennsylvania, 45 returns; Illinois, 30; California, 22; Wisconsin, 15; Indiana, 16 (all types of schools, to get the average conditions); Mississippi, 5; Arkansas, 2; Miscellaneous, 6; a total of 177 schools, in addition to the 110 reports in Virginia. In addition to these, the library offerings and recommendations of 60 progressive school systems as recorded in city and state courses of study, and special reports were included, so that the findings for the most part, and the conclusions, are based upon the study of and data from at least 347 school systems, scattered all over the United States.

Of these 347 systems, with their libraries in United States history, the 110 schools in Virginia and the 16 in Indiana represent average conditions, and the other 221 represent the conditions in progressive school systems.

VIII

FINDINGS AND TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

1. The average Indiana high school has 15 to 20 per cent more books in its American history library than does the average Virginia secondary school.

2. Of the 80 most frequently found books in United States history in the Indiana schools, 40 of these are also found among the 75 most frequently found in the Virginia schools. This means, on the whole, that the library offerings in such average schools in the two sections are not nearly so diverse as are those of progressive schools in contrast with average schools. (This fact is further demonstrated by later data in this chapter.)

3. Indiana has 15 books in her list of the 80 highest frequencies that were not found at all in the 15 Virginia schools, and nearly all of these 15 books are

of especial merit.

4. Virginia has 16 books on her list of the 75 highest that are not found at all in the lists of the 15 Indiana schools; but, since 11 of these 16 are strictly Virginia or Southern books (i.e., on Southern history), this difference is easily explained and is natural, and therefore is no serious indictment of the Indiana list. On the other hand, the first-class books absent from the Virginia list are a serious indictment against the basis and manner of choice of books for American history in Virginia libraries.

5. If we take the Indiana condition as somewhat typical of the average condition in the country (and there is strong evidence to the effect that conditions there are about the average, so far as the library situation is concerned) Virginia's library situation is con-

siderably below the average of the country.

6. Both lists (Indiana and Virginia), with the teachers' corresponding recommendations, show that the average teacher is a poor judge of the suitability of high school history materials for the students, this judgment being based upon the criteria set up by the most progressive city and experimental schools of the country.

7. The average history teacher makes very little use of the library in connection with the teaching and study of history, and this largely because she knows only a very limited amount of subject-matter outside the text and two or three college texts she has studied.

8. Some effective method of social science instruction should be devised and required of the teachers

that will make imperative and absolutely essential both the selection of suitable library materials and the proper use of these materials by both teacher and students.

IX

FREQUENCY LISTS ACCORDING TO THE CRITERIA SET UP, ACCORDING TO GRADE-PLACEMENT RECOMMENDA-TIONS, AND BY JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

LEVELS

The complete list in United States History, from all sources derived, his been checked in parallel columns, according to all the criteria that could be applied to a frequency check; and those of highest to lowest frequency (lowest that is of any significance for selection) have been rearranged in descending order, including more than 500 titles that are of significance for selection when checked by his composite of factors.

The table contains the final lists of books in American History for the senior high school library, arranged according to size of school, into five groups, ranging from the smallest accredited school to the

largest in enrollment.

It will be noted that in the minimum list of fifty titles for the small high school no duplications are provided in the original list. (Duplicates of the parallel texts, nos. 37 to 46, however, should be provided as rapidly as possible after the first year, and within five or six years several volumes of the list for the next largest group of schools, 75 to 250 students, should be added.)² In fact, the overwhelming weight of experimental evidence in recent years is to the effect that extensive rather than narrow library reading should be provided, especially on the senior high school level.³ This extensive reading, with its variety, better provides for individual differences and also gives breadth of viewpoint, a wider range for the exercise of judgment, and a sounder basis for reasoned conclusions.

The fact that a considerable number of the books in this senior high school list are also recommended for the junior high school level is likewise of particular significance and is, in general, as it should be. This is because as our American schools are organized at present, and will be for some time to come, each class has some slow pupils, as well as some who are superior. The reading ability and interest, therefore, range from two to four years in most classes, and the library, to function properly, should meet this situation by a corresponding range of material in a given field of subject-matter.

X

CHECKED BY THE CRITERIA

(1) The progressive schools were represented by the inclusion of the average of progressive school recommendations; (2) the recommendations of expert librarians were included, averaged in H. W. Wilson Co. 1930 catalog list, and the inclusion of recommendations of the University of Chicago Historical Fiction List, the A.L.A. Catalog list (1926), and others; (3) what children read and like were included, particularly in certain course-of-study lists not here mentioned, and in the Tryon and Lingley list in their

text, American People and Nation-all of which frequencies were brought together in the completed tables; (4) fewer accounts, but more detailed and interesting ones, were represented by numerous biographies, stories, books of historical fiction, and series volumes on various phases of our country's life; (5) the judgment and experience of experts and up-to-date authors and authorities were represented by the most recent parallel texts, and by representative works of specialists in the different phases of the subjects covered; (6) grade-placement to accord with the ability levels and interests of the pupils was secured by the laborious process of checking the grade recommendations of all the progressive teachers' lists, the best textbook bibliographies, and such grade-placement schemes as those of the Winnetka Graded Book List (junior high school), the University of Chicago High School List in Historical Fiction, and separate adult and children's lists of the H. W. Wilson Co. Catalog and the American Library Association Catalog; (7) a proper balance between the size of the social science library (as well as a particular subject in that field, e.g., American history) as compared with the other curriculum subjects was provided, by the number of books recommended for each size of high school (5 lists, according to enrollment), these numbers being generally in conformity to the percentages set up by the professional experts and secondary school accrediting agencies; (8) the works of frontier thinkers and scientifically selected subject-matter were represented by the Rugg books, texts by Tryon and Lingley, Beard and Bagley, and great American historians such as Francis Parkman, John Fiske, J. B. McMaster, and Edward Channing, as well as the Chronicles of America series, and a number of two-and-three-volume sets, by authors that are everywhere recognized as authorities in their respective fields (to be convinced of this, the careful reader need only pause to analyze, as he goes down the lists, the types and varieties and character of the books listed for the different sized high schools); (9) range of ability within a given group of pupils studying the same subject, and the principle of individual differences was provided for by the occasional overlapping of the junior and senior high school fields,4 and by including in the junior high school lists several books written for the fifth and sixth grades; and, finally (10), the numerous recently published books and the variety of viewpoints given in the list include all the objectives set up in this study.

In addition to the lists that have been given for senior and junior high schools, the smallest sized high school should, within three or four years, and the larger ones at once, have on hand in their libraries at least one copy of each of the following standard parallel texts in American Problems:

- 1. Burch and Patterson, Problems of American Democracy Macmillan
- Macmillan.
 Williamson, Problems in American Democracy. Heath.
 Hughes, Problems of American Democracy. Allyn.
 - 4. Arnold, Problems of American Life. Row.
 - 5. Bowen, Social Economy. Silver.
 - 6. Greenan and Meredith, Everyday Problems. Houghton.

In the same manner there should also be provided at least one copy of each of the following well-known texts in civics or citizenship:

- 1. Magruder, American Government. Allyn.
- 2. Woodburn and Moran, The Citizen and the Republic.
 - 3. Foreman, The American Democracy. Century.
 - Hughes, Textbooks in Citizenship. Allyn.
 Dunn, Community Civics. Heath.
 - 6. Hill, Community and Vocational Civics. Ginn.

There are other good textbooks and source-books in these two fields available, especially on the junior high school level, that may well be utilized by the larger schools.

The reason for including the above-named books in the American history list is that a proper grasp and interpretation of the history of our country calls for supplementary reading and reports on such topics as are found in these texts and references.

XI

THE READING PROBLEM IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Anyone conversant with the present-day trends in social studies instruction knows that the proper use of the high school library is just as important and perplexing a problem, and needs just as careful and scientific treatment and application, as does that of selecting on a scientific basis the materials that are to go into such a library. It has seemed advisable to the writer, therefore, to include in the study a chapter on "The Reading Problem in the Social Studies," notwithstanding the fact that this has not been the main subject of the present investigation.

It is universally recognized today that the proper use of the social studies library must be linked up with some sort of laboratory method, preferably in connection with the classroom library. In the application and use of the methods and materials worked out in the present study, the writer has utilized two classes in the Charlottesville High School and the seven accredited high schools of Albemarle County, Virginia.

While there are certain legitimate objections to the formal collateral reading report, as brought out by W. G. Kimmel in his bulletin, The Management of the Reading Problem in the Social Studies, it is felt that the most serious of these objections is met by this peculiar type of report. Our results in the Albemarle County Schools, and in the other places in which this report has been used, according to the judgment of both teachers and students, justify the use we have made of it. A number of examples of pupils' work with this sort of report were given.

The present section has dealt only with the manner of reporting on collateral reading done, on how the teacher may check regularly upon the amount and nature of the reading done by the pupil, as well as what the pupil is getting out of that which he reads. There are many other phases, as we all know, to the library and reading problem, if we consider it in its completeness.

Various other methods and devices for reading and for checking or reporting on reading done might be

discussed at this time. But, since the present problem and study have been concerned chiefly with research and with experimental work at first hand, it is the results of this research and of our own experimental practices in the Albemarle County and Charlottesville Schools that have been given. The results for the past three years—of standard tests, of our series of objective tests, and of comparisons of schools using this scheme of reading and reports, with schools and classes that have not used it—have been constantly, uniformly, and increasingly in favor of this method of checking in connection with the Unit System of Instruction.

XII

Conclusions

A. WITH RESPECT TO THE SOCIAL STUDIES LIBRARY AND ITS USE

1. Only a small percentage of the schools have anything like an adequate number of social science books in their libraries. This is certainly true of American history, which seems to have a larger allotment than any other social study.

2. There is urgent need of a larger number of trained librarians and library courses in many schools. This was brought out by the writer's personal visits, and also by numerous statements of teachers and librarians that were obtained from various sources.

3. Of the social studies books in the libraries a great number were not suited to the pupils and needs of the schools. In many cases more than half the books were essentially "dead timber."

4. Of the books found in the libraries, some of them excellent references, many were not used. The writer's personal checking up over an extended period in such schools as the John Marshall at Richmond, the E. C. Glass and R. E. Lee Junior at Lynchburg, and the Williamsburg and Newport News high schools revealed this lack of use of many titles. Volumes costing as much as four and five dollars, in certain instances, had not been taken out by pupils in three years. If this is true in the larger schools, what of the smaller schools, that do not make so much use of the library?

5. The facts brought out in point (4) above indicate that the textbook method is still the prevailing one in the average American secondary school.

6. Small and inadequate as the school libraries are, the American people are spending many millions of dollars on obsolete, too-advanced library material, or on books in other ways not suited to the pupils.

7. The library equipment in the Southern States is considerably below that of the average of the country.

B. WITH RESPECT TO OBJECTIVES OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES

1. Social studies objectives are not yet well worked out, especially for individual subjects, or units in a given course, but the general objectives are much more satisfactorily organized and integrated than are specific ones.

2. Much valuable and promising work in the field of objectives has been done within the past five years.

C. WITH RESPECT TO THE CRITERIA SET UP BY THE WRITER AT THE BEGINNING OF THE STUDY

1. Every one of the criteria and factors set up has proved a valid one and the running of the book lists through the "gauntlet" of all the criteria has resulted in high correlation between the various criteria, as well as in making well-balanced library lists.

2. The H. W. Wilson Company's list and the "progressive teachers" lists showed remarkably high correlation, and, therefore, may be considered as among the best single recommended lists available.

3. The H. W. Wilson Company's list (Catalog, 1930) shows a remarkably high correlation with the composite of all the criteria set up, a positive correlation of at least .70, since about 350 of the 500 titles of the Senior high school list are identical in the two lists.

D. WITH RESPECT TO PERSONS QUALIFIED TO CHOOSE LIBRARY BOOKS

1. The average high school teacher is a poor judge of the proper social studies reading material for the pupils (e.g., Virginia and New York correlation lists).

2. The "progressive teachers" (as judged by State Department experts and State Supervisors of Secondary Education and of Social Studies) are well qualified to make a majority of the selection for their particular subjects. (The correlations between these "progressive" lists and lists according to other criteria, and with the final composite of the criteria, is convincing evidence of this fact.)

3. The present prevalent method of choosing library materials is essentially vicious, as well as unscientific, because of the lack of qualifications for this service on the part of those who usually choose the books, to say nothing of other factors that enter in.

E. WITH RESPECT TO THE TYPE OF AMERICAN HISTORY MATERIAL FOUND IN THE HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARIES

1. Entirely too much reading and reference material is on the college level, too dry, difficult, and advanced to meet well the needs of the adolescent group. This is revealed even in the recommendations as finally given in the composite lists. But this is not in any major sense the fault of the criterion of the "progressive teachers" and of other standards accepted in the study, but because suitable library material for the senior high school level, to a large extent, is not available. Is this not because the high schools have been (as indicated in the beginning of this thesis) in slavery to the textbook system of instruction, and have not made use of research, sources, and the library in general, as colleges have been doing from the first? The writer is thoroughly convinced that this is true.

2. Because of the situation described in point (1) above, there is urgent need of the attention of social studies authorities and students being given to the problem of selecting suitable library materials for the high school level, particularly the senior high

school level.

F. WITH RESPECT TO THE METHOD EMPLOYED BY THE WRITER IN ARRIVING AT THE FINAL RECOMMENDED LISTS

1. The method is sound, as evidenced by the persistence with which a majority of the books finally selected stood the test of all the criteria set up, and revealed high correlation between the various pairs of criteria, as well as between a single criterion, and the composite frequencies of all the factors and criteria applied, and should be applied at once to the selection of library lists for all the other social science subjects. But it calls for the cooperation of a larger number of investigators, and for financial assistance that will make possible undivided, uninterrupted, and steady prosecution of the task to its completion.

2. This method needs to be supplemented and the lists revised in the light of experience with the lists as here given or with any such lists made up in any other social studies field.

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL RECOMMENDED LIST Minimum Beginning List for High School of 75 or less Students:

1. Washington, Up from Slavery. Doubleday.

2. Roosevelt, Winning of the West (Episodes). Putnam. 3. *Parkman, Oregon Trail. Little. 4. *Antin, The Promised Land. Houghton.

*Garland, Son of the Middle Border. Macmillan.
*Andrews, The Perfect Tribute. Scribner's. 5.

6. Fiske, The Critical Period. Houghton.

Churchill, The Crisis. Macmillan.

- Hart, Contemporaries (4 vol). Macmillan.
 Fiske, The American Revolution. Houghton.
- *Sparks, Expansion of the American People, Scott, 11. Foresman.

12. Drinkwater, Abraham Lincoln. Houghton.

*Elson, Sidelights on American History. Macmillan. 13.

Wilson, Division and Reunion. Longmans.
 Elson, History of the United States. Macmillan.

- 16. Bassett, Short History of the United States. Macmillan. 17. Bogart, Economic History of the United States. Longmans.
- Hart, Sourcebook of American History. Macmillan.

*Jackson, Ramona. Little.
 Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors. Houghton.

21. Churchill, The Crossing. Macmillan.

- *Sparks, The Men Who Made the Nation. Macmillan. 23. *Franklin, Autobiography. (Riverside Series.) Hough-
- Muzzey, Readings in American History. Ginn.
 Riis, The Making of An American. Macmillan.
 Hough, The Covered Wagon. Appleton.
- *Bacheller, A Man For the Ages. Bobbs. 27.
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- Co.
- 407.
- Thompson, Stories of Indiana. Am. Book Co. Bechdolt, When the West Was Young. Century. Brooks, First Across the Continent. Scribners. 408. 409.
- 410. Laut, Pioneers of the Pacific Coast. Glasgow, Brook &
- 411.
- Nida, Following the Frontier. Macmillan. Parkman, California and Oregon Trail. Crowell. 412.
- 413.
- Rolt-Wheeler, Book of Cowboys. Lothrop. +White, The Forty-Niners. Yale Univ. Press. 414.
- 415. Bush, A Prairie Rose. Little.
- Cather, Oh Pioneers! Houghton. 416.
- Hough, Passing of the Frontier. Yale Univ. Press; 417.
- 418. Twain, Roughing It. Harpers.
- Rugg, Changing Civilization in Modern World. Ginn. Wildman, Famous Leaders of Industry. Page. 419. 420.
- Darrow, Boys' Own Book of Great Inventions. Mac-421.
- millan. 422. Paine, The Old Merchant Marine. Yale Univ. Press
- 423. Spears, Story of the New England Whalers. Macmillan.
 424. Bagby, Old Virginia Gentleman. Scribners.
 425. Dodd, Cotton Kingdom. Yale Univ. Press.

 426. Harland, Carrington of High Hill. Scribners.

- Eastman, Soul of the Indian. Houghton. 427.
- Moors, Life of Abraham Lincoln. Houghton.
 —, Life of Christopher Columbus. Houghton. 428.
- 429. 430. Eggleston, Stories of American Life and Adventure.
- Am. Book. Co.
- Brooks, True Story of Abraham Lincoln. Lothrop. 431.
- Perry and Beebe, Four American Pioneers. Am. Book 432. Co.
- Lindsay, Daniel Boone, Backwoodsman. Lippincott.
- Baldwin, Abraham Lincoln. Am. Book Co.
- 435. Evans, America First. Scribners.
- Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin. Houghton. 437. Brooks, Master of the Strong Hearts. Dutton.
- Tomlinson, Scouting with Daniel Boone. Grossett.
- 439. Knipe, Girls of '64. Macmillan.
- 440. Knipe, Maid of '76. Macmillan.
- 441. Dix, Blythe McBride. Macmillan.
- 442. Holland, The Blue Heron's Feather. Lippincott.
- 443. Parish, Man With the Iron Hand. Houghton. 444. Taggart, A Pilgrim Maid. Doubleday.
- 445. Tomlinson, The Young Rangers. Wilde.

- 446. †Fiske, War of Independence.
- 447. Page, Red Rock, Doubleday 448. Altsheler, Lords of the Wild. Appleton.
- -, Masters of the Peaks. Appleton. -, Rulers of the Lakes. Appleton.
- 450. 451.
- Shadow of the North. Appleton. 452.
- Sun of Quebec. Appleton. 453. Oertel, Jack Sutherland. Crowell.
- 454.
- Smith, Boys of the Border. Little. Curtis, Little Maid of Old Philadelphia. Penn. Goss, Jack Gregory. Crowell. 455.
- Lisle, Diamond Rock. Harcourt.
- Mason, Tom Strong, Washington's Scout. Holt.
- 459. Mitchell, Venture in 1777. Jacobs & Co.
- Seaman, The Sapphire Signet. Century.
- Seawell, Paul Jones. Appleton. Seawell, Imprisoned Midshipman. Appleton.
- Skinner, Silent Scot. Macmillan. 163
- Thompson, The Green Mountain Boys. Burt. Tomlinson, Washington's Young Aids. Wilde. 464.
- Grosvenor, Strange Stories of the Great Valley. Har-
- 467. Kaler, Benjamin of Ohio. Am. Book Co. 468. McNeil, Totem of Black Hawk. Dutton.
- 469. Henty, Under Drake's Flag. Scribners. 470. Davidson, Source Textbook in American History.
- 471-500. The remaining 29 books to make out 500, may be taken from those marked with a star (*) in the Senior High School List of Table XXVII, and not found in this list, since they are also choice books for the Junior High School pupils, or for the most advanced of them.
 - * These are also recommended for the Junior High School.
 - † These are also recommended for Senior High School.
 - Mainly for Teachers.
- ¹ These conclusions are further confirmed by the writer's knowledge of conditions and interests affecting the choice of library materials in Virginia, and by a checking-up on a number of these points with school officials and others familiar with the factors which have contributed to the present library situation.
- ² Duplicate parallel texts should be added in successive years until there is at least one such book for every five students in class.
- ⁸ See Good, C. V., The Supplementary Reading Assignment (Warwick and York, Baltimore, 1927), pp. 58, 82, 103, 104, 116, 129, 150, 175, and the whole of Chapter xvi.
- 'This feature (point 9) is forcibly brought out by the number of individual books that are recommended for both levels (marked *), and by listing in each senior group a few junior high school books for the slower pupils and in the junior high school lists several titles that represent the senior high school level chiefly. Three years' experience in the Albemarle County Schools (Va.) has demonstrated the value and soundness of this method. The scarcity of duplication also leaves space for a wide variety, to suit individuals.
- ⁶ Publications of the National Council for the Social Studies, No. 4, McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, October, 1929.
- "In addition to the "college" books, there is likewise a superabundance of discarded and obsolete or out-of-date textbooks on the shelves of the high school library.

"Disarmament or Disaster" is the rather startling title of J. William Terry's article in the October issue of the North American Review and is born of trepidation over German repudiation of the disarmament provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and the reëstablishment of armed forces. If Germany rearms, then France will increase her already formidable army; Italy will likewise plunge headlong into the game and Great Britain will adopt an intense building program. One can not even imagine the result of this frightful race for armaments. It would mean impotency if not death for the League of Nations if the coming conference does not insist on limitations, uniform, universal, and proportionate.

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

By Committee of Current Information on the National Council for the Social Studies W. G. Kimmel, Chairman

An excellent recent study by Arthur W. Clevenger and Charles W. Odell, *High School Libraries in Illinois* (University of Illinois, Bureau of Educational Research Bulletin No. 57, 1931. Pp. 41), reports data for about three-fourths of the four-year accredited high schools, not including those in Chicago. Data in terms of median numbers of titles which are of interest to social-studies teachers are summarized from Tables I and II as follows:

TABLE I
SOCIAL STUDIES TITLES IN SCHOOL LIBRARIES

Libraries Used Only by High School Pupils			Libraries Used by Elemen- tary and High School Pupils	
Size of School	Social Studies	Biography	Social Studies	Biograj hy
1- 99	2.4	.41	2.0	.00 .
100-299	1.6	.27	1.2	.17
300-499	1.1	.20	. 6	. 13
500-999	. 9	.17	.7	.07
1000-	1.2	.20	.5	.07
Total	1.7	.27	. 9	. 13

The number of social-studies titles ranks second in the list for all subjects; this number is exceeded only by English titles.

Median amounts spent for different types of materials are:

TABLE II
MEDIAN EXPENDITURES IN SCHOOL LIBRARIES

	Libraries Used Only by High School Pupils	Libraries Used by Elementary and High School Pupils
Books other than ency- clopedias	94¢	44¢
Dictionaries and ency- clopedias	19¢	16¢
Magazines and News- papers	200 8	96

Only 42 per cent of persons acting as librarians had had any training beyond the high school; 20 per cent of the replies contained no answer presumably because persons acting in this capacity were not regarded as deserving of the title of librarian. Only about one of every four librarians were reported to have had any library training, and of this small number 45 per cent had received less than five hours of special training.

Howard E. Wilson and Bessie P. Erb, in "A Survey of Social-Studies Courses in 301 Junior High Schools," School Review xxxv (September 1931), 497-507, report the results of a questionnaire investigation made in 1930. Of the junior high schools in thirteen states which furnished usable data, slightly more than one-third of the schools are located in Massachusetts and California. Data are summarized in three tables. American history is usually taught either separately with varying allotments of time or in connection with fusion courses which draw heavily on the same content. European background is found in only a small percentage of the schools, usually when it is not included in the elementary schools. Ancient history is still found in the ninth grade, usually in eastern states. Geography is frequently taught as a required course in the seventh grade,

and is frequently found in the eighth grade. Civics is offered in all grades at the junior high school, and in varying combinations in different programs. Fusion courses in some form are found in 67 schools in the seventh grade, in 65 in the eighth grade, and in 35 schools there are required fusion courses in the ninth grade. The authors reach the conclusions (1) that while there is little agreement concerning courses and plans of organization of content, geography is still most frequently found in the seventh grade, American history in the eighth grade, and civics in the ninth grade, (2) that there is a willingness to experiment in the selection and organization of content, and (3) that there is more interest in fusion courses today than formerly. "Fusion courses, however, vary greatly in character and merit, and there is little to indicate whether the idea of fusion is a basic advance or only another of the fads which come and go with succeeding generations."

One of the developments in recent years which is attracting considerable attention is the publication of workbooks, which vary somewhat in approach and content from the manuals which were in vogue just prior to the "turn of the century." T. V. Goodrich, in "Is the Workbook a Necessity or a Luxury? A Questionnaire Report," School Executive's Magazine L (April 1931), 359-61, 396, summarizes "opinions of 245 users of workbooks on such matters as the strength or weakness of this form of instructional material and conditions favorable or unfavorable to its successful use." Data for the social studies include: (1) 103 of the 245 schools reporting are now using history workbooks, the second largest number for all subjects; (2) 80 of the 245 schools are using geography workbooks; (3) 17 of the schools report that the use of workbooks in history, and 22 in geography, has been abandoned; (4) 24 schools report difficulty in finding satisfactory workbooks for both history and geography; (5) in reply to the question: "In general, how much of a contribution to education is the modern workbook?" the following data are summarized:

e. Educationally unsound. Worse than useless.. 1
Many opinions of administrators and supervisors are cited.
A. W. Elliott, in "This Workbook Craze: The Educational
Value of the Workbook," School Executives Magazine, 1.
(September 1931), 19-20, 38, raises and answers certain pertinent questions concerning the the value and usefulness of
workbooks, and concludes that the use of the word "craze"
is unwarranted, and the term "workbook" is a misnomer.
Such materials may make a valuable contribution.

George F. Howe, in Journal of Geography, xxx (October, 1931), 298-304, reports "A Study of Children's Knowledge of Directions." The subjects of the experiment were about 1,300 children in the kindergarten through the sixth grade in three schools in New Britain, Connecticut. Each child was tested individually with normal-school students assisting the teacher. Mimeographed sheets containing four sets of cross-lines corresponding to cardinal points of the compass, with space for the recording of reasons given by pupils, and directions were provided. Pupils were taken out of doors in the sunlight and asked to point in different directions, with reasons. The same procedure was repeated indoors. Pupils in the third grade and above were "asked to point

to the direction east on a wall map." Data are summarized in three tables. Conclusions are as follows: (1) Children do not know directions as well as had commonly been supposed. (2) Children do not acquire a knowledge of directions to any great extent outside of the school, before taking up the study of geography, as shown by the fact that from the kindergarten through the second grade there were more who did not know directions than those who did. (3) In grades three through six more children were right than wrong but there was a large number of errors. This would tend to show that children have not been taught directions systematically, thoroughly, and accurately. (4) Children seem to have acquired wrong associations in determining directions, thinking in terms of local objects rather than natural phenomena . . . (5) Boys apparently know directions better than girls. However, this difference may be more apparent than real.

W. A. Dakin, in Journal of Geography xxx (October 1930), 296-98, presents a series of topics for class lessons in the "Use of Wall Maps in Teaching Geography." Suggestions on methods are offered. The same author, in "Sources of Geographical Information," in the same issue, pp. 294-96, presents lists of questions and suggestions for the use of publications, maps, and pictures.

The Ability of Children in Map Reading; An Analysis of the Skills Involved and Suggestions for Their Development (New York City: Board of Education, Bureau of Reference, Research and Statistics, Educational Measurements, No. 16, Nov., 1930. Pp. 16), is a report of an investigation made to determine the skills involved in map reading, to measure these skills, and to suggest methods for improvement in instruction. The subjects were 680 pupils.

The data are based on a multiple choice test of fifty-two items dealing with latitude and longitude, directions, use of legend (scale, color to represent land elevation, size of printing and symbols), interpretation of special maps, reasoning on probable effects from causes revealed by a map. Results, remedial suggestions, and gradation of skills are given for each group of skills. "Latitude is read more easily by children than longitude." "Frequent comparisons between pictures of the geographical feature and its symbol," is one of the remedial suggestions offered. The compilation of a list of symbols in common use with a view toward a possible standardization of some of them for use in elementary textbooks is suggested as a worth-while study.

Read Bain, in "High School Sociology," in High School Teacher viii (April 1931), 134-37, 152-55, presents a serious indictment of the social problems courses on the ground that courses of study and textbooks are: (1) "bookish and pedantic," and (2) "are overwhelmingly concerned with the abnormal aspects of social life." He disapproves of the abnormal approach because pupils are immature and at an age when ideals and emotional patterns are being defined. Teachers of these courses are usually poorly trained in sociology and are only a little more mature mentally and often less mature emotionally than the average twelfthgrade pupil. There are many possibilities for misunderstanding and disapproval of the course by parents. Pupils in these courses "are encouraged to think of social problems in moralistic, not scientific, terms." "The teacher partially trained in sociology is likely to see social problems in terms of good and bad, to be profoundly hopeful or painfully hopeless." Objectives are mentioned briefly, and a suggestive course of study of four parts and eighteen major divisions or chapters is outlined in some detail. Emphasis is placed throughout upon analyses of the local community, with considerable field work which is intended "to develop in the student a scientific socialized habit of mind." A critical estimate of methods and the training of teachers introduces the discussion of methods. Methods become mechanical and magic formula. Many teachers are lacking in qualities which enable to enliven the educational process. Concrete content and the development of concepts, the laboratory method and laboratory classroom, with suggestions for equip-

ment, are recommended. The author is frank and vigorous in his criticisms and recommendations.

Katherine Bradford Henderson, The Teaching of Citizenship: Federal and State Constitutions (Austin, Texas: State Department of Education Bulletin, Vol. vii, No. 2, 1931. Pp. 65), is intended for use in high schools. It has apparently been written to comply with a legislative enactment, which requires instruction in the federal and state constitutions "for at least one-half hour each week of the school year, or at least one hour each week for one-half of the school year, or the equivalent thereof," and the passing of a satisfactory examination as a prerequisite for graduation from high schools in Texas. The pamphlet is divided into three parts. Methods and devices are described in the first part; the Morrison technique is described in considerable detail. Part in includes five units. "The Federal Government Under the Constitution," "The American Citizen," "State Government," "County and rural communities," and "Municipal organization." The first and third units are subdivided into "blocks." Part in contains a series of aids for teachers and pupils, which will be extremely useful for busy teachers.

Sound Motion Pictures as a Factor in Education, a "Report of the sound motion picture demonstration held at George Washington University, Washington, D.C., July 7-10, 1931, under the direction of a committee of experts chosen by the Office of Education in the Department of the Interior," includes a description of the demonstration, including the sound pictures by Dr. Clyde Fisher, The American Museum of Natural History, Dr. W. W. Atwood, President of Clark University, and Professor Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University, prepared by the Fox Film Corporation. Samples of the items used in five tests are included. Results in the form of pupil preferences, and comments of pupils and adults are presented. The average gain in points per pupil in final scores over initial scores varies from 10.7 to 24.6. "On the final tests, after seeing the pictures, the boys and girls made an average gain of more than 88 points on all five tests, which is a gain of about 19 points on each test. Since there were 50 questions in each test, this is a gain of 38 per cent." Copies of the Report may be obtained from the Fox Film Corporation, 850 Tenth Ave., New York City.

"Required Civics in Michigan," School Review xxxix (October 1931), 561-64, includes the complete text of a new law in Michigan, with editorial comment on the tendency "to control the curriculum of the schools through legislation." Certain data are quoted from the study by Flanders, and extensive quotations from an unpublished study by Professor Newton Edwards, which brings data from Flander's study down to date, are included. Teachers of the social studies in particular and all persons interested in the welfare of public education should read this editorial comment, which touches upon one of the most controversial and most important problems which confronts the public schools at the present time.

W. E. Belleau, in "State Regulation of Private Schools," School and Society xxxiv (September 26, 1931), 436-40, includes brief summaries of statutory requirements in twenty-four states for the teaching of civics, the constitution, and patriotism. The teaching of patriotism is required in Kansas, New York, and South Dakota. Instruction in the Constitution of the United States is required at different grade levels in the following states: California, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, and West Virginia. Such instruction is implied in the statutes of several other states. Eight states also require instruction in the state constitution. Instruction in civics, citizenship, civil government, or duties of citizenship is required at different grade levels in thirteen states.

The Wiedefeld-Walther Geography Test (World Book Co., 1931), developed by M. Theresa Wiedefeld and E. Curt Walther, "is designed to provide an inventory of

pupils' achievements in the several phases of geography as usually taught in Grades 4 to 8." Part 1, "Study Abilities in Geography," includes a reading test of 16 items of the multiple-choice type, an organization test of 8 items each of which provides for more than one answer, and a test on map and graph reading containing 14 figures, 2 pictures, and 44 questions. Part II, "Geography Information," includes an association test of 30 items on the vocabulary of geography, a test of 20 items on geographical relationships and a test of 54 items on place geography including maps of the Western and Eastern Hemispheres, the United States, and Europe. There are two forms of the test. The authors report that the items in the test items were selected "on the basis of an analysis of 43 courses of study and of seven of the newest series of geography texts." Practically all the words, aside from technical terms, fall within the first 4,000 of Thorndike's Teachers' Word Book. The test is a reconstruction of an earlier one administered to 60,000 elementary school pupils and several hundred high school and normal school students. The reliability of the test, as indicated by the correlation between the two forms, varies from .80 for 58 cases in the fourth grade to .95 for the sixth and seventh grades with 103 and 135 cases respectively.

History Teaching and School Textbooks in Relation to International Understanding (Reading List No. 29, March 4, 1931), compiled by Mary Alice Matthews, Librarian of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Library (700 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.), is a selected bibliography of books, pamphlets, and articles in periodical literature. This fourteen-page pamphlet lists titles of publica-tions in English, French, and German, with brief annotations, descriptive quotations, and citations to reviews for many titles. The titles are representative of all points of view, including patriotic groups, organizations interested in the peace movement, militarists and pacifists, in their propaganda and its relationships to history textbooks and the teaching of history. The bibliography brings together a list of titles, many of which are probable unknown to a large number of teachers of history. It is an indispensable publication for those teachers who wish to be informed concerning all aspects of this important phase of history teaching as well as the ubiquitous and sometimes subtle propaganda of interested groups.

During the past decade increasing attention has been given to adjusting new students in their college environment and to the selection and organization of content for introductory courses in the different fields of knowledge. Ruth E. Seeger has compiled Orientation Courses: An Annotated Bibliography (Bibliographies in Education, No. 2, 1931. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, Bureau of Educational Research. Pp. 39), which includes a wide range of volumes and periodical articles on methods of study and courses developed in terms of integrated subject matter. Titles on the introduction and adjustment of the student to college life are not included. The annotations are descriptive rather than critical. Author and subject indices are appended. Price, 35 cents.

The American Observer, edited and published by Walter E. Myer with the aid of an editorial board including Charles A. Beard, Harold G. Moulton, David S. Muzzey, and E. A. Ross, is a new weekly magazine intended to give pupils an impartial presentation of current national and international affairs. An analysis of opinion on current affairs as reflected in the press will also be provided. Edmund Duffy of the Baltimore Sun contributes a weekly cartoon. The issue of September 30 contains eight pages, including one page entitled "Review of the Week" and another "On Books and Magazines." David S. Muzzey and Walter E. Myer contribute a third page entitled "Social Science Backgrounds." The other pages contain news items on a variety of subjects. There are also quotations from and summaries of articles from recent issues of Economic Geography, The American Journal of Sociology, and American Political Science Review. Eleven copyrighted photographs, Duffy's cartoon, and a cartoon reproduced from a daily newspaper are included in this issue. The place of publication is 3418 Fourteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROFESSOR HARRY J. CARMAN AND J. BARTLET BREBNER, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Cyrus Hall McCormick, Seed Time, 1809-1856. By William T. Hutchinson, with a Foreword by William E. Dodd.

The Century Company, New York, 1930. x, 493 pp.
Robert Feke, Colonial Portrait Painter. By Henry Wilder Foote. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1930.

William Stewart Halsted, Surgeon. By W. G. MacCallum, with an Introduction by Dr. W. H. Welch. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1930. xvii, 241 pp.

Henry White, Thirty Years of American Diplomacy. By Allan Nevins. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1930, xii,

Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University 1869-1909. By Henry James, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1930, Two volumes Vol. I, xvi, 382 pp. Vol. II, vi,

Steaming Up! By Samuel M. Vaucalin and Earl Chapin May. Brewer and Warren Inc., New York, 1930, 298 pp. High Stakes and Hair Trigger, The Life of Jefferson Davis. By Robert W. Winston. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1930. vi, 306 pp. The Life of Miranda. By William Spence Robertson. The

University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1929. Two volumes. Vol. 1, xviii, 327 pp. Vol. 11, x, 306 pp.

These volumes embrace a wide range of personalities and interests. With one exception they are the product of scholarly craftsmen intent on truthful portraiture. Without recourse to the methods employed by the jazz-scandalmongering school of biography to attract the public, these craftsmen each in his own way relate the life story of a human being-of his excellencies and insufficiencies, his aspirations and struggles, his hopes and despairs, his achievements and failures. Moreover, the historical stage on which the subject of each of these biographies played his life rôle is not neglected.

Professor Hutchinson's volume, the first of a projected two-volume work on McCormick, not only traces the life of the great inventor, manufacturer, and promoter to 1858, but the story of the invention and evolution of the reaper. Access to the vast storehouse of materials in the Chicago library of the McCormick Historical Association has facilitated the author's work. The first ten chapters, or approximately half, of the volume are largely devoted to an account of McCormick's life and activities in the Valley of Virginia. Here he was born of Presbyterian parents and here he fashioned the machine which ultimately was to revolutionize the production of grain and to bring him a fortune. The second half of the volume deals with McCormick's activities in the West, especially his work as a promoter and manufacturer and with his invasion of the Old World for the purpose of building up an overseas market. In order that the picture might be complete, Professor Hutchinson has necessarily given much space to the details of me-chanical construction and to the legal battles which Mc-

Cormick fought with rivals. The concluding chapter "Mc-Cormick and His Reaper in Retrospect" constitutes an admirable summary of McCormick's contribution to American civilization prior to the Civil War. Professor Dodd's interpretative foreword adds to the value of this "veritable store-

house of American economic history."

Mr. Foote's volume is extremely worth while for a number of reasons. First it summarizes the slow and tentative development of art in English Colonial America prior to the middle of the eighteenth century. Secondly it records all that is known of the greatest colonial portrait painter before Copley. In the third place it catalogues about sixty-five portraits attributed to Feke and gives full-page illustra-tions of thirty-six of these. Incidentally the illustrations contain reproductions of many portraits never before published. Finally the volume contains a pedigree of Feke with notes on the Barbadoes branch of the family and a genealogical chart. Mr. Foote modestly states that his volume on Feke is not definitive. Be that as it may, he has given us the nearest full-length biographical portrait of Feke that has as yet been published. The book is not only the work of a discriminating scholar but a model of fine workmanship on the manufacturing side.

Perhaps no American surgeon was better known by his achievements than Dr. Halsted, who was for over thirty years professor of surgery at Johns Hopkins. In the volume here reviewed Dr. McCallum, friend and colleague, tells the story of Dr. Halsted's life-of his family, his education, his activities in New York where he developed the use of cocaine anesthesia, and above all of his remarkable work at Baltimore. It is no dry recital, but rather a sympathetic account of a great personage to whom the world is indebted for his surgical discoveries and inventions. The in-troduction by Dr. Welch who was intimately associated with Dr. Halsted during the greater part of his professional life helps the reader to appreciate the true greatness of the man whose memory this book is intended to perpetuate.

Every person who desires to better understand the diplomatic history of the Old World and New for the last fifty years should read the brilliant biography by Allan Nevins of Henry White, whom Col. E. W. House stamped as "the most accomplished diplomatist this country has ever produced." Participator in the Venezuela dispute, the negotiations attendant upon the Spanish-American War, the Isthmian Canal and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, the Boxer Rebellion, and the complicated quarrel with Canada over the Alaskan boundary, ambassador to Italy and later to France, and one of the American Peace commissioners at the close of the World War, White enjoyed an extraordinary diplomatic career. In preparing this volume Professor not only had access to the archives of the State Department but to the papers of Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge and Henry White himself. The unbiased reader of the book is bound to agree with the author's prefatory statement that the material he has unearthed throws light upon practically every one of the diplomatic events to which White was a party. If for no other reason the book is a distinct contribution to our diplomatic history for the insight it gives of the Paris Peace Conference and the doublecrossing attitude and activity of many prominent persons who were either delegates to that conference or as private citizens were interested in its work.

Every educator and every lover of good literature should read the biography of President Eliot by Mr. James. It is no mere chronicle of Eliot's achievements but rather a delineation of his character and personality. In these pages background does not smother. Indeed there is only enough background to help the reader understand more clearly the kind of man Eliot was. Mr. James had the Eliot papers at his disposal and drew upon them freely. Throughout both volumes he has, wherever possible, let Eliot speak for himself. The ten appendices added to the second volume include the curriculum of Harvard College for the first term of the year 1868-1869; an analysis of eight of the leading Eastern colleges as to teaching staff, electives, and enrollment; a comparison of the graduate schools of Harvard and Johns Hopkins for the years 1876-1908; a tabular comparison of the growth of Harvard with other collegiate institutions during Eliot's administration, a list of the volumes of the Five-Foot Bookshelf; a list of the degrees conferred upon Eliot; a bibliography of Eliot's principal writings chronologically arranged; and a list of Eliot's portraits. Both volumes are illustrated.

The Vauclain volume is autobiographical. It is the familiar story of the self-made man blessed in this particular case with a superabundance of physical energy and more than average intellectual capacity. Rugged individualism stands forth on every page and the reader soon discovers that Mr. Vauclain is not over-sympathetic with labor unions or with some of the more recent trends in the direction of labor control over industry. Nor has he any use for employers' associations which resort to "an outrageous blackball system." The place of the engineer in our economic system is especially stressed, and one concludes that Mr. Vauclain believes that the engineer is vastly more important to society than the banker. Naturally the volume contains many references to railroading and to the Baldwin Loco-motive Works of which Mr. Vauclain has for many years been the head. The passages describing the relation of Mr. Vauclain and his business concerns to the World War are illuminating. The story is told with gusto and therefore

constitutes sprightly reading.

Those who have read Judge Winston's Life of Andrew Johnson will want to read his companion volume on Jefferson Davis for the Davis volume is done with the same thoroughness, originality, and personal detachment which characterized its predecessor. The account throughout is based largely on source material and much attention is devoted to background or environmental factors. The first one hundred and fifty pages of the book cover the years 1808-1861 and the remainder are devoted to the period of stress and strain which did not come to an end for Davis until 1889. No one who peruses these unbiased pages can fail to agree with Judge Winston that pride and self-will were the rocks upon which the President of the Confederacy hurled himself to destruction. Davis, the author quite rightly asserts, was a secessionist but not a traitor. He failed, as did many of his followers, to see that the type of civilization which he championed was fast becoming a thing of the past. A somewhat narrow legalist in outlook, he failed to sense the spirit of the times, or sensing it, ignored it. The result was untold misery and suffering for himself and for the land he loved. Yet, as Judge Winston points out, the resolute Davis never could see that he was in any way responsible for the course of events that brought on the Civil War and the horrors of Reconstruction. Other biographies of Davis have been written and still others undoubtedly will be, but it is doubtful if any will give a clearer and fairer account of the High Priest of the Confederacy than has Judge

Professor Robertson's splendid biography of Francisco de Miranda, precursor and Knight-errant of Spanish American liberty deserves more space that is possible within the limits of these pages. Miranda, who participated in the struggle for the independence of the United States, the French Revolution and in the emancipation of South America, was easily one of the outstanding figures of his age. And on these pages he lives again. We find him touring the United States from 1783 to 1784 for the purpose of enlisting aid for the liberation of South America. In the voluminous records liberation of South America. which he always kept he recorded his impressions of what he saw and heard. General Knox, for example, he rated as second only to Washington for his grasp of things military. His relations with Alexander Hamilton and the latter's interest in Miranda's projects constitute a hitherto little ex-ploited phase of Hamilton's activities. From America Miranda went to Europe, where he snubbed Lafayette, was entertained by the composer Haydn and the autocrat Catherine II, and attracted the attention of Pitt and Napoleon. His subsequent adventures including his attempts to free Venezuela from Spanish rule, his relations with Simon Bolivar and his ignominious death in prison are admirably depicted in these volumes. For the historian and especially for the busy teacher of history Professor Robertson's last chapter "The Man and His Rôle in History" is especially illuminating .- C.

The Evolution of England: A Commentary on the Facts. By James A. Williamson. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1931. 590 pp.

Writing for "the reader who is not a professed student of history," Dr. Williamson presents the main lines of British development, emphasizing geographic, economic, and psychological determinants. His highly selective method permits full treatment of the topics chosen, and leaves a total impression of continuity. In the especially difficult enterprise of describing the transition from the eighteenth century to the present time, the book is more successful than any short history known to the reviewer. The author's specialty, the Elizabethan period, fulfils expectation. Other high points are an original geographical interpretation of the campaign of Hastings, explanations of the psychology of the Roman citizen and the medieval serf, and sketches of outstanding personalities, notably Charles II, Disraeli, and Gladstone. Dr. Williams does not shirk the obligation of personal judgments implied in his sub-title. Although orthodox on sea power and in suspicion of abstract political theories, he is never the official English spokesman one suspects sometimes in Professor Trevelyan and others. He is detached from all parties and panaceas, whether eighteenth century aristocracy, nineteenth century democracy, or twentieth century socialism. His grave concern as to the future of England and suspicions of her economic instability have been substantiated by events since the book went to press.

The style is clear, animated, and flavored with sardonic irony: "It was quite incredible that there could really be slaves in cotton mills; the principles of 1688 forbade such a thing any nearer than the sugar plantations," or again, in explaining the Whig nobles' dislike of the elder Pitt; "He was not descended from the spoilers of the monasteries, but only from an Indian profiteer under Queen Anne." There are no cheap bids for popularity. The appeal is to unspecialized but solid intelligence, to the civilized amateurs who give solidity to the English book market. A selected and annotated bibliography would have increased the book's

value for this audience, of whose existence in the United States publishers are generally sceptical. It is to be hoped that *The Evolution of England* will have a circulation which will disturb this scepticism and encourage the production of similar books for those who, like the reviewer, are not historical specialists but readers of history unsatisfied by the usual American output of textbooks, pre-digested outlines, and technical monographs.

EMERY NEFP

Columbia University

World Politics in Modern Civilization. By Harry Elmer Barnes. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1930. xliii, 608 pp.

In his customarily vigorous manner Professor Barnes in this volume presents what he conceives to be the contributions of nationalism, capitalism, militarism, and imperialism to human culture and international anarchy. He begins by describing the motives for the old colonial movement and gives a brief but clear analysis of the dynamic forces behind the expansion of European control and civilization. Then, in two excellent chapters, he outlines the chief economic, cultural, and institutional changes resulting from the Commercial Revolution and the transit of European ideals and methods.

The second part of the book is devoted to the rise and influence of the eras of capitalism and imperialism. After discussing the Industrial Revolution, the growth of Big Business, and establishment of world trade as factors of a general Capitalistic Revolution, Professor Barnes devotes a long chapter to the important social and political changes occasioned by the advent of the capitalist régime. National-alism is next treated and its degeneracy into hundred-percentism depicted. Finally, there is a valuable summary of the effects of capitalism and imperialism on the natives in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and on the European and American exploiters.

The first chapter of Part III is one of the best in the volume. Entitled "The War Complex in Contemporary Cul-

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ture," it presents well-reasoned and convincing arguments to show the fundamental artificiality of the so-called biological, psychological, sociological, economic, and political causes of war. The factors that helped to bring on the World War in particular are then described, and the intricate diplomacy of the critical month in the summer of 1914 discussed.

The fourth part of the book dissects the fiction of the Holy War that had found credence in the Allied countries. President Wilson, the Secret Treaties, and the war propaganda are, of course, severely criticized, and the mockery of the war-time shibboleths exposed. The last section of the work deals with the "attempt to salvage the wreck of Europe." In it are discussed the questions of war guilt, repara-tions, and war debts, from Professor Barnes' well-known point of view. There is an excellent chapter on the League of Nations and another stimulating one on the peace movement "from Kant to Kellogg." Although the author considers the League to be "virtually as impotent in curbing militarism and navalism as in ending capitalism or imperi-alism," he does regard it as at least "the most useful and promising political entity in existence in relation to international affairs, and the only apparent hope of securing a better set of conditions in the immediate future." The concluding chapter of the volume advocates a "sensible" and "liberal" foreign policy for the United States, marked by a recognition that "war can be ended only by frankly facing and eliminating the leading causes of armed conflict: nationalism, imperialism, armaments, secret diplomacy, false conceptions of national honor, and the like."

It would be a great step forward in the direction of world peace and harmony, were it possible to make every thinking peace and narmonly, were possible to make Crey tanking adult read in this interesting, sensible, and concise analysis of our twentieth-century civilization in the making. The outlook for the future then might be somewhat brighter.

WALTER C. LANGSAM

Columbia University

Books on History and Government* Published in the United States from August 15 to October 10, 1931

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Adams, James L. The epic of America. Boston: Little Brown; 441 pp.; \$3.00.

Bisbee, William H. Through four American wars. Boston:

Meador Pub. Co.; 281 pp.; \$2.50.

Bolton, Herbert E. Outpost of Empire; the story of the founding of San Francisco: N.Y.: Knopf; 372 pp.; \$5.00.

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Chapin, Lon F. Early days in Iowa. Pasadena, Calif.: Southwest Pub. Co., 525 E. Colorado St.; 240 pp.; \$2.50.
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Cremer, Henry. Available sources for the study of American history from the southern point of view. Indiana, Pa.: R. S. Grose Pr. Shop; 11 pp.

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Pioneer; 138 pp.; \$1.00.
Danton, George H. The culture contacts of the United States and China, 1784-1844. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press; 147 pp. (14 p. bibl.); \$2.00.

Embree, Edwin R. Brown America; the story of a new race. N.Y.: Viking; 317 pp. (10 p. bibl.); \$2.50.

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Ginn & Co.; 671 pp.; \$1.40.

Kibler, J. L. The cradle of the nation; Jamestown, Williams-

burg, and Yorktown [Virginia]. Richmond, Va.: Garrett & Massie; 64 pp.; 50 cents.

Laut, Agnes C. Pilgrims of the Santa Fe. N.Y.: Stokes;

373 pp.; \$3.50.

Lesesne, Thomas P. History of Charleston County, S.C. Galveston, Texas: A. H. Cawston, P.O. Box 681; 369 pp.; \$10.00.

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Marchand, Sidney A. The story of Ascension Parish, Louisiana. Baton Rouge, La.: J. E. Ortlieb Pr. Co., 218 Laurel St.; 194 pp.; \$2.00.

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Hill, N.C.: Univ. of N.C. Press; 101 pp.; \$1.00.

Murray, Louise W., editor. Selected manuscripts of General John S. Clark relating to the aboriginal history of the Susquehanna. Athens, Pa.: Soc. for Pennsylvania Archæol-

ogy; 166 pp.
Oberholtzer, Ellis P. A history of the United States since
the Civil War in 5 vols. Vol. 4, 1878-1888. N.Y.: Macmil-

lan; 754 pp.; \$5.25.
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Century Co.; 405 pp. (11 p. bibl.); \$4.00. Sioussat, Annie L. Old Baltimore. N.Y.: Macmillan; 263 pp.;

\$3.50.

Smith, Tevis C. Frontiers' generation [History of Brown County, Texas]. Brownwood, Texas: Author; 63 pp.; 50

cents.
Thorning, Joseph F. Religious liberty in transition; a study of the removal of constitutional limitations on religious liberty [etc.], 1st series, New England. N.Y.: Benziger Bros.; 258 pp. (10 p. bibl.); \$2.50.
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court; 928 pp.; \$10.00 set.

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p. biol.); \$0.00.
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Wells, J., and Barrow, R. W. A short history of the Roman Empire. N.Y.: Dial Press; 399 pp.; \$3.00.
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2 and 3. The age of mercantilism. N.Y.: Macmillan; 472, 547 pp. (22 p. bibl.); \$5.00. Milner, Frederic. Economic evolution in England. N.Y.:

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son; 230 pp.; \$2.00.

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Section Meeting

General Topic: The Teaching of History in Foreign Lands.

- The Teaching of History in the Secondary Schools of France. O. W. Mosher, Jr. The Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia.
- The Teaching of History in the Secondary Schools of Mexico. C. E. Castanede. The University of of Me Texas
- 3. The Teaching of History in the Secondary Schools of Germany. Werner Neuse. New York University
 4. The Teaching of History in the Secondary Schools of England. Herbert Tout. The University of Min-
- nesota

Luncheon Meeting

Address by Professor A. P. Scott. The University of Chicago

- Howard, Harry N. The partition of Turkey, . . . 1913-1923. Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Okla. Press; 486 pp. (21 p. bibl.); \$5.00.
- Kluchevsky, Vasilie O. A history of Russia, vol. 5. N.Y.:
- Dutton; 347 pp.; \$5.00, Laistner, M. L. W. Thought and letters in western Europe,
- A.D. 500-900. N.Y.: Diel Press; 354 pp.; \$4.00.
 Lally, Frank E. French opposition to the Mexican policy of the Second Empire. Balto.; Johns Hopkins Press; 163
- pp. (5 p. bibl.).

 Langer, William L. European alliances and alignments, 18711890. N.Y.: Knopf; 536 pp.; \$5.00.

 Littlefield, Henry W. An outline history of Europe, 1500-
- 1848. N.Y.: Barnes and Noble; 143 pp. (2 p. bibl); 75 cents.
- McClellan, George B. Venice and Bonaparte. Princeton,
 N.J.: Princton Univ. Press; 307 pp. (6 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
 Pokrovsky, M. N. History of Russia from the earliest times
- to the rise of commercial capitalism. N.Y.: International
- Publishers; 399 pp.; \$3.50.
 Schapiro, Jacob S. Workbook to accompany Schapiro and Morris's Civilization in Europe. Boston: Houghton Mifflin;
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- millan; 1496 pp.; \$7.50. Essays on research in the social sciences. Wash., D.C.: Brookings Inst.; 194 pp.; \$2.00.
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 N.Y.: Dial Press; 406 pp.; \$2.50.
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- millan; 407 pp. (2 p. bibl.); \$2.50. MacMunn, Sir George F. Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of
- the North. N.Y.: McBride; 318 pp.; \$3.50. Warshaw, Robert I. Alexander Hamilton. N.Y.: Greenberg;
- 251 pp. (4 p. bibl.); \$3.50. Brown, E. Francis. Joseph Hawley, colonial radical, N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press; 222 pp. (15 p. bibl.); \$2.75.
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- Univ. of Pa. Press; 391 pp. (19 p. bibl.); \$5.00. Babcock, [Mrs.] Bernie. Lighthorse Harry's boy. [Biography
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 Weigall, Arthur E. P. The life and times of Marc Antony.
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 Clarke, Tom. My Northcliffe diary. N.Y.: Cosmopolitan; 314

- pp.; \$3.00.

 Nagel, Charles. Speeches and writings, 1900-1928. 2 vols.

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- \$3.00.
- Foley, Louis. The greatest saint of France [Biography of St. Martin of Tours]. Milwaukee: Morehouse Pub. Co.; 332 pp. (29 p. bibl.); \$3.50. Gibbs, Philip H. The reckless duke [Biography of George
- Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham]. N.Y.: Harper; 443 pp.; \$4.00.
- Hart, Albert B. Washington as President. Wash., D.C.: Geo. Washington Bicent. Comm. pamphlet No. 8; 41 pp. Hart, Albert B., compiler. Tribute to Washington. Wash., D.C.: Geo. Washington Bicent. Comm. pamphlet No. 3; 38 pp.
- Hart, Albert B. Washington, the man of mind. Wash., D.C.: Geo. Washington Bicent. Comm. Pamphlet No. 2. 43 pp.
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- Ritter, Halsted L. Washington as a business man. N.Y.: Sears; 308 pp. (4 p. bibl.); \$3.50.
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GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Bishop, Crawford M. International arbitral procedure. Wash., D.C.: John Byrne & Co.; 250 pp.; \$12.00.

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Morse, H. B., and MacNair, H. F. Far eastern international relations. Boston: Houghton Mifflin; 862 pp. (26 p. bibl);

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Patterson, Ernest M., editor. Elements of an American for-

eign policy. Phila.: Amer. Acad. of Political and Social Science; 191 pp.; \$2.00.

Pepper, George W. Family quarrels; the President, the Senate, the House. N.Y.: Baker Voorhis & Co.; 201 pp.;

\$2.50. Wright, Benjamin F. American interpretations of natural

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Young, C. Walter. The international legal status of the Kwantung leased territory. Balto.: Johns Hopkins Press;

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Historical Articles in Current Periodicals

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GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Technology and Political Boundaries. William Beard

(American Political Science Review, August).
The Uses of History. D. F. Swenson (Swedish-American Historical Bulletin, June). The Press and Public Opinion. Walter Lippmann (Political

Science Quarterly, June). History Charts: the Teaching of Chronology. Dorothea Beale

(Parents' Review, September).

New Light on the Paris Peace Conference. R. C. Binkley (Political Science Quarterly, September).

World Sovereignty and World Culture: the Trend of International Affairs since the War. A. J. Toynbee (Pacific Affairs September).

Affairs, September).
The Silver Problem. Sir Arthur Salter (Political Science Quarterly, September).

Some Cultural Principles in Hebrew Civilization. Margaret B. Crook (Journal of Biblical Literature, L, pt. III)

Some Cases of Adoption in Israel, Samuel Feigin (Journal of Biblical Literature, L. pt. III).

Coptic Law. A. A. Schiller (Juridical Review, September).

The Prussian Bureaucracy in the Eighteenth Century. W. L. Dorn (Political Science Quarterly, September).

The Language War in Belgium. Henri Laurent (Current History, September).

History, September).
The Italian Corporate State. Carmen Haider (Political

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uel Čapek (Slavonic Review, June).

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Professor of American History in Haverford College

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POLITICAL PARTIES

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TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

If you had been living in the time of Washington and Jefferson, which of the two parties do you think you would have supported? Why? Pages 6-7.

Does the career of Lincoln indicate that moderates rather than radicals are likely to carry through great reform movements? Page 12.

Remembering Cleveland's administration, would you favor a President who fights uncompromisingly for his principles, in spite of opposition and defeat, or one who, by some compromise with his opponents, strengthens his own leadership? Pages 13-14.

Was President Wilson one of our great Presidents? Pages

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Was President Wilson one of our great Presidents? Pages

Was President Wilson one of our great Presidents? Pages 14-15.

Was Roosevelt wise in bolting the Republican Party in 1912? Pages 24-25.

Would you have supported Coolidge in 1924 in spite of the scandals of the Harding administration? Page 20.

In the campaign of 1928, which candidate took the better ground on the prohibition question? Page 26.

Was Governor Smith wise, in the campaign of 1928, in declaring that the Democratic Party had changed its former attitude toward the tariff question? Page 27.

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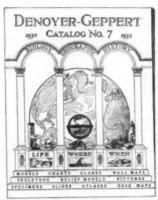
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